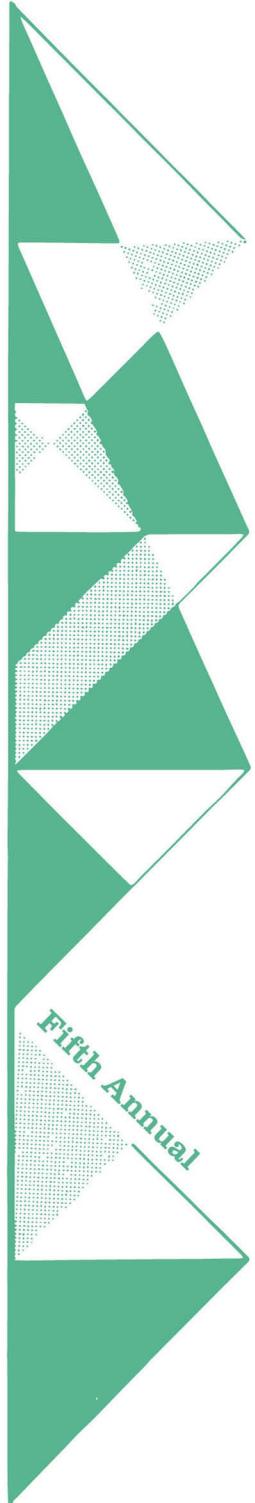


**CRITICAL
ESSAYS IN
APPALACHIAN
LIFE & CULTURE**

**Proceedings
of the
5th Annual
Appalachian Studies
Conference**

**Edited by:
RICK SIMON**

Appalachian Studies Conference



Critical Essays In Appalachian Life And Culture

*Proceedings Of The Fifth Annual
Appalachian Studies Conference*

Coordinating Editor
Rick Simon

Editors
Grace Edwards
Ron Eller
Joan Moser

Managing Editor
Barry M. Buxton



The Appalachian Consortium was a non-profit educational organization composed of institutions and agencies located in Southern Appalachia. From 1973 to 2004, its members published pioneering works in Appalachian studies documenting the history and cultural heritage of the region. The Appalachian Consortium Press was the first publisher devoted solely to the region and many of the works it published remain seminal in the field to this day.

With funding from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities through the Humanities Open Book Program, Appalachian State University has published new paperback and open access digital editions of works from the Appalachian Consortium Press.

www.collections.library.appstate.edu/appconsortiumbooks

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons BY-NC-ND license. To view a copy of the license, visit <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/>.

Original copyright © 1982 by the Appalachian Consortium Press.

ISBN (pbk.: alk. Paper): 978-1-4696-3681-8
ISBN (ebook): 978-1-4696-3683-2

Distributed by the University of North Carolina Press
www.uncpress.org

The appreciation of the Appalachian Consortium and the Appalachian Studies Conference is extended to Brad Jakubsen, Jacque Stewart and Gail Garner for their assistance in editorial and design considerations.

This page intentionally left blank

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction, Rick Simon	1
Keynote Address: Education and Change, Sue Thrasher	7
I. Values and Political Economy	
Introduction, <i>Rick Simon</i>	19
Harry Caudill and the Burden of Mountain Liberalism, <i>Ronald D Eller</i>	21
Human Values and Resource Development in the Political Economy of Appalachia: A Synthesis of Two Regional Forums, <i>Deborah Morentz Markley and Brady J. Deaton</i>	30
II. Urban Minorities	
Introduction, <i>Ronald Eller</i>	45
Black Appalachian Migrants: The Issue of Dual Minority Status, <i>William W. Philliber and Phillip J. Obermiller</i>	47
Occupational and Employment Status of Appalachian Migrant Women, <i>Virginia McCoy Watkins and Diana Gullett Trevino</i>	54
III. Language and Literature of the Appalachian Region	
Introduction, <i>Grace Toney Edwards</i>	67
Generations: The Theme of Jim Wayne Miller's <i>Dialogue With a Dead Man</i> , <i>Harold Branam</i>	69
Kit Brandon's Choice, <i>Parks Lanier</i>	76
IV. Culture, Images and Change	
Introduction, <i>Joan Moser</i>	87
Appalachia in America's Future: Alternative Cultural Forms, <i>Melinda Bollar Wagner</i>	88

Notes on Voluntary Service Networking and Community Building, <i>Thomas Plaut</i>	98
V. Abstracts	
Renewable Energy for Appalachia Development, <i>C. James Bier</i>	107
The Need for a Descriptive Study of Appalachian Children's Language Development, <i>Dina Blum - West</i>	108
Floating Down the Stream of Time: An Appalachian Rural Community Confronting Mass Society, <i>Tom Boyd</i>	108
Appalachian Change: The Federal Involvement, <i>Michael J. Bradshaw</i>	109
Appalachian Serpent-Handlers in the Urban Midwest: A Test of a Satisfaction Hypothesis, <i>Michael Carter and Kenneth Ambrose</i>	109
Looking Back....Before Integration, <i>Victoria A. Casey</i>	110
The Homemade Toys of Appalachia, <i>Debbie Collins</i>	110
Sherwood Anderson's Appalachian Years: An Overview, <i>William T. Cornett</i>	111
Tales of Power: A Community Perspective of the T.V.A., <i>Richard Couto</i>	112
Location Decisions of Appalachian Youth: A Case Study in a Rural Appalachian Community, <i>Barbara Daniel</i>	113
Land for East Kentucky's Development: An Inventory of Mountain Top Mining Sites, <i>Douglas Dotterweich</i>	113
Planning for Appalachia's Future: The Forest Service and Public Input, <i>L. Sue Greer</i>	114
The Nada Tunnel: Through Fact and Through the Imagination, <i>Larry G. Meadows</i>	115
Made in the Mountains: Folk Art and Traditional Handicraft, <i>Laurel Horton</i>	116
The Cherokee Religious Experience, <i>Richard A. Humphrey</i>	117
Toward a Theory of Appalachia in Advanced Capitalism, <i>Stephen P. Legeay</i>	119

Ethnicization and Urban Appalachians, <i>Martin N. Marger</i>	119
Pine Mountain Boarding High School: A Unique Educational Community, 1930-49, <i>Walter Oldendorf</i>	120
A Critique of Appalachian Sociolinguistics, <i>Brenda Cottrell Pfaff</i>	121
An Ethnography of Speaking in an Appalachian Community, <i>George B. Ray</i>	121
Oh, How I Want To Go Home: The Myth of Return and Ethnic Identification Among Appalachian Migrants to Urban Places, <i>Terrence Russell</i>	122
Women in Appalachian Education: An Initial Inquiry, <i>Ruth Scott</i>	122
New Ideas and New Cultural Experiments in Appalachia: A Historical Outline, <i>Jewel L. Tabor</i>	124
The World's Largest Pottery: Does Appalachia Hold Its Future? <i>Jack Welch</i>	125
The Blue Ridge Mountains: A Regional Ecology of Natural Hazards, <i>Gene Wilhelm, Jr.</i>	126
Appalachia and the World's Fair, <i>Michael J. McDonald</i> <i>and William Bruce Wheeler</i>	126
Methods, Means and Materials for Teaching Appalachian Studies, <i>Carolyn M. Hinson</i>	127
Unraveling Folklore: The Thread of Appalachia, <i>Joyce</i> <i>L. Graham</i>	128
The Impact of Economic Development on Women: Women and the Welfare State in Southern Appalachia, <i>Mary Anglin</i>	129
The Richmond, Kentucky Solar Energy Community Assessment, <i>J. Allen Singleton</i>	129

This page intentionally left blank

Introduction

Rick Simon

Appalachian Studies Conferences have been held every year since 1977. The 1982 conference was the first held under a new relationship with the Appalachian Consortium (AC), which will co-sponsor the annual meetings. One important result of the participation of the Appalachian Consortium will be the regular publication of the conference proceedings. As this volume marks a new beginning as the first of many to come,¹ it is appropriate that this essay should speak to the nature of the Appalachian Studies Conference, as well as introduce this collection of papers from the 1982 conference.

The goal of the conference is similar to that of other professional associations: a "shared community has been and will continue to be important for those writing, researching, and teaching about things Appalachian." But the objective of creating a community for those involved in Appalachian studies has a particular meaning. For that community is made up of many diverse elements, to be sure. The Appalachian Studies Conferences bring together the widest group of people, including faculty in the social sciences and the humanities, musicians, artists, film makers, social welfare practitioners, community workers, residents, and others. These people come from many different locations, have a diversity of personal histories and backgrounds, hold varying political beliefs, and have different reasons for being interested in Appalachia.

There would seem no better example of that diversity than that this introduction should be written by someone who is by birth urban, northern, and Jewish; by training an economist; by experience an activist and Marxist; and, intellectually, one who is questioning the notions of an Appalachian regional consciousness and identity. It is safe to say that I constitute a minority of one within the Appalachian studies community.² If my views regarding Appalachian studies may be unrepresentative, my attitude toward the Appalachian Studies Conference and its diversity will be shared more generally.

The diversity of the Appalachian studies community has been both a source of strength and a problem, a source of creativity and divisiveness. The diverse formats included in the annual conference are illustrative. For example, at the 1982 conference there were literature readings, presentations of academic papers, a social with traditional music and square dancing, continuous showings of films, tape-slide shows, and other audiovisual teaching aids about Appalachian subjects. There was also run concurrently a workshop for primary and secondary teachers.³ A workshop for mental health workers was planned, but unfortunately did not draw a large enough participation to justify the running of the program itself. The 1982 conference also included an innovation in format which will be tried again

in 1983. The program committee attempted to integrate artistic papers and scholarly contributions within a session organized around a topic. For example, the session on "Sexism in Work, Communities and Families," included a multi-media presentation of a short story entitled "Lovesick Blues;" the session "Mountain Music" included a film entitled "Anchored in Love," and the session "Land Use and Economic Development" was scheduled to include a poetry reading.

Another interesting feature of the Appalachian Studies Conference format is its attempt to bring together community and academic participants. Although falling far short of the complete mixing of university and general communities, each annual conference has included a session focusing on a community problem presented by the residents themselves. In 1982, the Citizens for the Preservation of Floyd County, a group fighting the location of a high-voltage powerline designed to cross the county, enlightened and ignited the audience.

These diverse activities offer combinations of interactions which other conferences do not approach. They reflect not only the diversity of participants but the diversity of interests of each participant as teacher, scholar, activist, resident, cultural consumer, and artist. In addition, this diversity provided the opportunity for uncommon informal contact between the participants. By its nature, this activity is hard to describe, but all agree it marks the ASC as something special.

But the variety of activities has also led to, as John Stephenson has suggested, "a suprising degree of specialization and subspecialization, and a consequent fracturing of our attention."⁴ The 1982 conference reflects this as most sessions were organized around disciplines: cultural history, linguistics, religion, politics....Moreover, the divisions within Appalachian Studies, as within other regional studies groups, inevitably reflect political and methodological differences. The political differences ultimately concern beliefs as to the best strategies for change and where we want those changes to lead.⁵ But it is the methodological concerns which call forth the greatest debate among Appalachian Studies participants. The tension between the "hard" and "soft" academic disciplines has received the greatest attention.⁶ There is the related difference between those who view the proper role of the regional student as activist and those who urge an "objective" non-participant role.⁷ A final methodological difference is that between (what I refer to as) the globalists and the localists, those who analyze Appalachia as part of a larger social context and those who analyze Appalachia as unto itself.⁸ These differences will be of unequal importance in the 1980's.

At least the goal of bridging the gap between the hard and soft, between the social scientists and humanists, is shared by all. The attempt made in 1982 to integrate the hard and the soft within sessions was modest but nonetheless an important beginning. The tension between the activists and the "academics" reflects real political differences and will not be so easily resolved.⁹ The tension between the globalists and the localists, which will be mirrored in an increased tension over political strategies, may well become the most debated issue in the 1980's.

Despite the diversity of participation and the political and methodological dif-

ferences and the demands these place on the ASC organizers, the annual conference seems to be surviving quite successfully. Stephenson believes that Appalachian Studies has become a community who, "while they maintain their differences in perspective, have shared much in this ten year conversation, and who want to share more as they work together in the future."¹⁰ There is an Appalachian scholars' community, and it receives its fullest, yet muted, expression in the Appalachian Studies Conference.

Given the very real divisions within the Appalachian community, the obvious question is "what brings and holds this diverse group of people together?" First, there is our common interest in the territory we call Appalachia. There are as many boundary definitions of the region as there are problems in the eyes of conference participants. Nonetheless, whatever the particular approach of the Appalachian scholar, the common space and people are a cohesive force. Furthermore, there is a belief in a holistic method, one which does not separate subject matter by disciplines, even as there is a tension between the social sciences and the humanities. For example, my own work might be considered too economic determinist within the Appalachian Studies community, yet would not be considered "economics" by that profession. Regional studies, by its nature, encourages one to think in holistic, not disciplinary terms. In the 1982 conference, although some sessions were organized along disciplinary lines, others were organized around topics and included presentations from individuals in different disciplines. For example, the session called "Appalachian Images: Past, Present, Future" included individuals who are in sociology, political science, history, and biology departments. This and other sessions were very much interdisciplinary; the conference is moving toward structuring multidisciplinary sessions.

A third factor holding people together within Appalachian Studies is a concern for the use of knowledge, particularly its impact on people. Those doing Appalachian Studies are closer to their subject than are many other research communities. This is not just a concern for the policy implications of research, therefore, but reflects the position of the participant who is "of" Appalachia. Our work affects each other as well as people in general. This concern for having an impact, as well as what that effect will be, has led the studies conference to develop mechanisms for talking to people outside of the Appalachian Studies community. The teachers' workshop is very much a continuing part of the conference and the mental health workshop will hopefully become that also. The participation of community groups is an ongoing concern, although again there is much to be done to more fully integrate university and community participation.

This concern for outcomes is reflected in what John Stephenson calls the "future oriented" interest of the community. Once again there has not been adequate or sufficient attention given to this subject. It is part of the consciousness of those doing Appalachian Studies, so hopefully we will improve our performance. We suspect that that concern will be translated into action; the 1982 conference made a modest contribution.

The 1982 Conference

“Alternative Appalachian Futures: Past and Present, 1832-1982,” was the theme chosen for the 1982 conference. We in Appalachia seem once again faced with a critical period that will greatly affect our future. The energy crisis, funding reductions in federal social programs, more rapid growth of the smaller towns and rural areas, new communication and computer technologies,...all suggest that we are in a time of rapid change in Appalachia. There have been other times when critical choices were made, knowingly or unknowingly, that shaped Appalachia. We need to learn about earlier historical episodes during which critical choices were made, as well as to try to unravel the present. The program committee for the 1982 conference believed that we had better start looking now at the future of Appalachia if we hope to participate in influencing the changes that will come to pass.

As with so many of the other considerations with the still young Appalachian Studies Conference, mechanisms to successfully institute our objectives are still developing. The theme for the 1982 conference, while providing some continuity for the different conference activities, was not successful in really focusing the conference papers and the other forms of presentations. Thus the editorial committee decided not to try to organize this collection around the theme of Appalachian futures, but instead to reflect the more modest success of speaking to that theme. Humbly, we have chosen a general title and organized papers around the subjects to which they speak. Nonetheless, the 1982 conference made some contributions toward the overall theme, some of which are represented in the nine papers reproduced in full in this volume.¹¹

The one theme often repeated in the papers is: people in Appalachia need to develop new ways of understanding and new ways of doing so as to build the future on the cultural platforms of the past. Several of the papers,—Markley and Deaton, Wagner, and Branham—argue that the future, whatever its particular form, must be recognizable as a mountaineer culture. These authors question a future which would destroy that culture in achieving urban industrial growth. Wagner goes further, suggesting that Appalachian culture, to the extent that it is collective oriented and non-discursive, is not only a necessary foundation for Appalachia’s future but for America’s future as well.

The collection of papers also suggests that the future should be shaped by the people of Appalachia, not experts, whether inside or outside the region. Eller criticizes the view that the “backwoods” culture limits the ability of people to be involved in shaping their own future and Markley and Deaton provide examples of people’s involvement. Plaut, in reviewing some of the considerations in establishing new support networks in the mountains in the face of federal government cutbacks, suggests that these evolving support networks may be the basis for community-building. This in turn could provide the basis for people being broadly involved in helping to determine their own future. Lanier’s review of Anderson’s *Kit Brandon* suggests that Appalachian mountaineers, in facing their own struggles between good and evil, will be involved consciously or unconsciously.

ly, in shaping the future.

It is appropriate that the keynote address should have focused on the Highlander Center in celebration of its 50th anniversary in 1982. Highlander's labor, civil rights, and Appalachian periods, as related by Thrasher, are tied together in Highlander's philosophy of trying to help people help themselves. Highlander's belief in the power of "ordinary people" is an important example for those trying to build a better future while preserving people's culture.

The papers included in this volume have much more to say about the future and other subjects. The papers are introduced more fully below.

Notes

¹The proceedings of the Third (1980) Appalachian Studies Conference was published under the title *Appalachia/America* by the Appalachian Consortium Press (ACP). Funds were contributed by the Appalachian Regional Commission. It is the hope of the ACS and the ACP that the publication of the proceedings of this and forthcoming conferences will be self-supporting.

²My role as editorial coordinator follows my serving as program coordinator for the 1982 conference. Although I was responsible for drafting this introduction, this collection has certainly been a collective effort. The conference program was the result of great effort from everyone on the 1982 program committee. The selection of papers and editorial work for this volume has been shared by Ronald Eller, Grace Toney Edwards, and Joan Moser. Barry Buxton has served as managing editor, with the aid of the staff at the Appalachian Consortium.

³This was the second conference to hold such a workshop; twenty teachers were enrolled. A highlight of the 1982 workshop was a presentation, "A History of Education in Appalachia," by Cratis Williams. His excellent presentation marked one of his last activities before undergoing treatment for cancer of the lymph system. We all wish him a speedy recovery from his treatment, which is reported to be going successfully.

⁴"Politics and Scholarship: Appalachian Studies enters the 1980s," *Appalachian Journal*: IX:2, 3 (Winter-Spring 1982), p. 97. (This special issue of the AJ has the title *Assessing Appalachian Studies*; this title will be used to refer to other articles appearing in this issue of the AJ.) Stephenson is suggesting here that the Appalachian Studies Conference has not been able to evaluate the status of Appalachian Studies even while it has encouraged the pursuit of Appalachian Studies subjects.

⁵I believe that the differences are much greater over the strategies to pursue than our visions of what we wish to achieve.

⁶See Jim Wayne Miller, "Appalachian Studies Hard and Soft: The Action People and the Creative Folk," *Assessing Appalachian Studies*, pp. 105-114.

⁷See John Stephenson, "Politics and Scholarship," in *Assessing Appalachian Studies*, pp. 97-104. Stephenson usefully notes that the Appalachian Studies interest was stimulated during the politically active late 60s and 70s by those who had come to Appalachia or became more involved in Appalachia during that time, and then "returned to academic society charged with political anger." Whereas the rapid growth of Appalachian Studies during the past ten years has brought with it increasing numbers of participants "whose early experience of the region was not especially political." Thus, the tension between the "pure academics" and the real politickers is deeper in Appalachian Studies than it is perhaps in professional associations other than those similarly formed, such as black or women studies.

⁸See Steve Fisher, Jim Foster, and Mary Harnish, "From Nonsense to Good Space Sense: A Collective Reflection on Appalachia and Appalachian Studies," *Assessing Appalachian Studies*, pp. 149-169, especially p. 151.

⁹See for example Frank H. Einstein, "Theory Si Practice No! Appalachian Studies Comes Full Circle," in *Assessing Appalachian Studies*, pp. 195-201.

¹⁰See Stephenson, "Politics and Scholarship," p. 103.

¹¹The selection of papers is always a difficult task. The editorial committee, with the needs of the Appalachian Consortium Press in mind, tried to select a set of papers which not only made contributions to their subjects, but which also would fit together so the volume as a whole would be of use to Appalachian scholars and teachers. In that process, unfortunately, a number of good papers had to be excluded from full publication.

Keynote Address of the 1982 Appalachian Studies Conference

Sue Thrasher

Education and Change

At Christmas time in 1931 in Copenhagen, Denmark, a young Tennessean by the name of Myles Horton made a note in his journal:

I can't sleep but there are dreams: a school where young men and women can come and be inspired...expressing themselves through teaching history, literature, song and music, arts, weaving, and a life lived together....A school where young men and women living in close personal contact with teachers will learn how to take their place intelligently in a changing world, which at present presents so many baffling problems. It is hoped that the students will be able to make decisions for themselves on the basis of an enlightened judgment.

The following November the southern mountain school of his dreams, the Highlander Folk School, was born on the Cumberland Plateau in the little community of Summerfield, Tennessee. This year, Highlander, in its new incarnation as the Highlander Research and Education Center, celebrates its 50th anniversary. It has survived major attacks by southern governors, legislatures, and businessmen. It has changed its name and its location, but the idea of democratic education that Horton envisioned that winter evening in Copenhagen has persevered. I would like to start with an overview of Highlander's work with the southern labor movement; the civil rights movement; and community groups in Appalachia, and then talk about its impact as a regional institution.

* * * *

The concept of a school for workers and community people was born in the little town of Ozone, Tennessee, when Horton, a third year student at Cumberland College arrived to teach vacation Bible school for the Presbyterian Church. That summer, in addition to his work with children, he decided to bring adults together for evening discussions about community problems. He was amazed at the response; people would walk for miles to make it to the evening meetings. They wanted to know about how to test wells for typhoid, or how to test their farmland. They also wanted to know about the possibility of getting jobs in textile mills.

One of the most important things Horton learned from these meetings was to trust his own ability as a group leader who didn't have all of the answers. As he said later,

To my amazement my inability to answer questions didn't bother them. That was probably the biggest discovery I ever made. You don't have to know the answers! You raise the questions, sharpen the questions, get people to discussing them. In that group of mountain people a lot of the answers were available if they pooled their knowledge.

It was that discovery with the mountain people of Ozone that began to trigger in Myles Horton the notion of setting up a southern mountain school. Although the community wanted him to stay, and one woman offered her house as an educational center, he returned to graduate from Cumberland University. After spending a year working with the YMCA in Tennessee, in 1929 he followed his dream to Union Seminary where he studied under Reinhold Niebuhr and Harry F. Ward. He then went on to the University of Chicago and studied under sociologist, Robert Park, and more importantly met a Danish minister named Aage Moller, who told him about the Danish folk high school movement. At the end of his year in Chicago, and still not ready to "begin" his new school, Horton decided to travel to Denmark to see first-hand the Danish folk schools.

During all of this time Myles wrote innumerable notes to himself trying to more precisely define his dream of starting a school. He was never quite sure exactly when it was time to begin. He still didn't have all the answers. Finally one night in Denmark, he decided it was time to come home and find himself a situation and a place. As he wrote later,

All at once I told myself, 'All you do is get a place and move in. You are there. The situation is there. You start with this and let it grow. You have your idea; you know your goal. It will build its own structure and take its own form. Find the place, the people, the situation. Use your ideas as your lodestone and move into the thing and start.'

With the help of his former professor and old friend, Reinhold Niebuhr, Myles began making plans to start his school for adults. He still didn't know what his situation or place would be; he simply knew that it had to be in the southern mountains and that the time to start was now.

Will Alexander, Director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation in Altanta, encouraged him to get in touch with a young man named Don West, who had also traveled in Denmark and wanted to start a folk school. They met at the Blue Ridge Assembly in North Carolina and agreed to start their venture together.

At the suggestion of an old friend, they went to see Dr. Lillian Johnson, an educator, who owned a home and property in the small community of Summerfield, Tennessee. A graduate of Wellesley, and former President of Western College for Women, Dr. Johnson had moved to Summerfield to establish a community school, hoping it would be the first of many cooperative efforts. Although her school flourished, she was disappointed in the community's response to other cooperative endeavors, and anxious to see what the two young men could do with their notion of a folk school.

The place that Myles and Don found themselves in the fall of 1932 was Grundy

County, one of the ten poorest counties in the United States at the time. The situation they found themselves in was one of desperate poverty. Grundy County had once been rich in coal and timber but as Aimee Horton noted in her dissertation on Highlander:

Those resources were exploited in classic 19th century style, and the economy there had begun to collapse decades before the depression. The only thing left in Grundy County at the time was cut-over timber, mined-out fields, and unemployed workers.

The first phase of Highlander's work then began to center around the small community of Summerfield and Grundy County. During its first three years, the Highlander staff helped establish a union for WPA workers; a community cannery; and a quilting cooperative. Later they set up a community nursery school on the Highlander property.

At the same time that the staff was working closely with the surrounding community, they were also conscious that the institution had to be regional in nature and address the larger issues affecting the South.

It was clear, for example, that regardless of the school's physical location—the coming industrialization of the South would mean that the school should work with industrial workers.

By the time the Congress of Industrial Organizations was formed in 1936, Highlander was integrally involved in the growing labor movement. Horton, because of his extensive contacts, helped select many of the southern CIO organizers, and from then until the late 1940s, Highlander was predominantly a labor school. CIO unions and some AFL unions from across the South sent members to Highlander to be trained in sessions lasting from one to five weeks. Union members learned how to put out a local union newspaper; how to do public speaking; how to write, draw, and mimeograph leaflets; and other skills needed to keep a union strong. They participated in courses such as labor history, the history of social change, and economics. These sessions were often taught by Highlander staff members in conjunction with CIO and other union officials.

By the late 1940s, however, Highlander's definition as a labor school was coming to an end. At issue was Highlander's relationship with some of the unions who had been kicked out of the CIO for refusing to sign the anti-communist oath called for by the Taft-Hartley Act.

Highlander did not, as an institution, espouse any particular ideology. Neither did it refuse to work with anyone who did. However, as political debate heated up within the unions over the anti-communist provisions of Taft-Hartley, political debate heated up around Highlander.

An underlying issue was the independence of the school—whether it would be run by the CIO or whether it would maintain itself as an independent institution. In retrospect, it is striking to see how much the institution tried over the years to establish a working relationship with the unions. The school itself had subsidized many of the union sessions while also hoping to gain financial support from them. But at this particular time, given the critical issues that were facing the country and the union movement, the staff felt strongly that the unions should not dictate

the ties and associations of the school.

Perhaps more important than the divisions brought on by Taft-Hartley, was the underlying issue of race. Union members from across the South would come to Highlander to find themselves in an integrated situation for the first time. Although the Highlander staff insisted that the various unions inform their members of the schools' interracial policy before they arrived, it was not an easy policy to carry out. For one thing, the unions had been very reluctant to actually sponsor integrated schools. Although Highlander had had a policy of being an integrated institution from the time it opened in 1932, it was not until 1944 that the United Auto Workers held an interracial residential session at the school.

The staff tried hard to break down racial prejudice among the students while they were at the school, insisting on interracial cooperative living in all aspects. In the segregated South of the 1940s, eating at the same table and sharing dormitory rooms was downright heretical. Usually by the end of a term, many of the students would comment on their own changing attitudes as a result of their experience at Highlander. Others, however, were not convinced, and it seems likely that at least two of the southern CIO state directors were as concerned about the interracial nature of Highlander as they were about its political associations.

By 1949, it was apparent to both the CIO and Highlander that the uneasy truce that had existed for the past few years could no longer go on. The CIO did not attack Highlander, it simply dropped it from its list of approved institutions to hold its training schools. Although some of the international unions, such as the United Furniture Workers, and a few CIO state directors, notably Paul Christopher of Tennessee, maintained their association with the school, it was clear that the internal changes within the labor movement effectively left Highlander on the outside.

For a brief time in the late 1940s and early 50s, Highlander turned its attention to working on a farm labor alliance. One of Highlander's publications during this period noted that farmers and their families made up 22 million members of the workforce, while industrial workers and their families comprised 95 million. Altogether farmers and laborers made up 85% of the population. Despite these optimistic figures, the dream of creating such a coalition was doomed in light of the large scale migration from family farms and the overwhelming concern of the industrial unions to consolidate their own strength and bargaining power.

The situation with the unions, however, forced Highlander to a major turning point in its history. When the unions opted to build a strong union at the expense of other social and economic issues, it forced the Highlander staff to think more clearly about other social issues, particularly race, and its impact on the South during the next 10-15 years.

* * * *

In the early 1950s Highlander began having small meetings at the school to talk about the coming of school integration in the South. It was quite apparent, by this

time that the Supreme Court Decision on School Desegregation would soon be handed down by the Warren Court.

In the summer of 1953, Highlander held three experimental workshops with community leaders from across the South who came to talk about the issue of school desegregation.

These workshops in 1953 signaled Highlander's immersion in the most important social movement of our time. Civil rights was not yet a "movement" in 1953, but the same spirit embodied in the word "organize" that had swept the country in 1936 for industrial workers was emerging again, this time in the nascent but long over-due struggle for equal rights.

During the next fifteen years Highlander played an integral role in the civil rights movement. Until the passage of the first civil rights bill in 1964, it remained one of the few places available for interracial meetings. From its first tentative efforts with community leaders on school desegregation, the school moved to establish a major literacy and voting rights project in the Sea Islands of South Carolina, held workshops with students participating in the sit-in movement, actively participated in the training of civil rights workers for Freedom Summer of 1964, and continued following up on all of these efforts until the time of the Poor Peoples March in Washington in 1967.

* * * *

From its early days in 1932, Highlander had enjoyed a warm relationship with the surrounding community of Grundy County. Square dances held at the school, volleyball games, and community suppers were commonplace. In addition, Highlander operated a community nursery school, first organized by Claudia Lewis, who later wrote about her experiences in a book entitled *Children of the Cumberlands*. She was followed by Joie Willimetz, a graduate of Wellesley, who used her own personal contacts to raise money and supplies for the school. The Folk School also published a small community newsletter called the *Summerfield News*, featuring poetry, community news items, and a gossip column.

Despite these indications of good community relations, however, there was always some opposition to the school and its ideas. In the early 1940s the school had come under attack by a local group called The Grundy County Crusaders, who had threatened to march on the school. Friends of the school simply ringed the area, and no harm was done. However, as the school made the crucial turn toward involvement in the civil rights movement, the Folk School lost its strong community ties.

It was not the antagonism of the local community, however, that succeeded eventually in closing the school. It was the antagonism of the state, a force far more powerful than the people of Summerfield.

In 1957, Highlander celebrated its 25th anniversary. One of the speakers was Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who had recently moved to Atlanta to help set up the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, following the successful Montgomery bus boycott. To put it mildly, he was not well-liked by southern governors, who

by this time were involved in a program of massive resistance to any kind of integration—whether it was school integration of public accommodations or anything else. The governor of Georgia, Marvin Griffin, in particular, wanted to discredit King, and the state legislature of Tennessee wanted to discredit Highlander, to root out the cancerous growth that was in their state. So in 1957, when Martin Luther King spoke at Highlander, the governor of Georgia sent a reporter and a photographer to that gathering, and a few months later a four page tabloid began circulating about the “communist training school in East Tennessee.”

In 1959, the school was raided during a weekend workshop, and several staff members were hauled off to jail. The school was charged with selling beer without a license; operating an integrated school; and for operating for the personal gain of the director. The charge of being an integrated school was dropped before the case could be pursued to the Supreme Court of the United States; and operating a school for the profit of the director was never proven. The technicality that closed the school was selling beer without a license.

It took two years for the state of Tennessee to actually close the school, but in 1961 they did succeed in revoking the charter and confiscating all property and assets which were later sold at public auction. To this day, Highlander has never received any remuneration.

Between the raid in 1959 and 1961 when the school was actually closed, the Highlander staff began making plans for what they would do. As soon as they could, they rechartered, reorganized and opened again under the name of the Highlander Research and Education Center. In the meantime, the Citizenship School program that had steadily grown from its beginnings on Johns Island, South Carolina, was turned over to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference for its continued operation.

A few months after it reopened in Knoxville in an old house overlooking the Tennessee River, the Highlander Executive Committee had the choice of going back to Grundy County and buying their own land at public auction. The Executive Committee of the school made a very critical decision at this time, which was not to look backward, but to put all of their money and resources, time and energy into the growing civil rights movement and **not** into their own institutional battles.

* * * *

Highlander maintained its involvement in civil rights until the mid 1960s when it became increasingly apparent that the traditional roles of white people in the movement needed to change. It was in 1966 that the words “black power” were shouted in the Meredith March in Mississippi, and reverberated across the South.

The following year Highlander helped organize the Poor Peoples March on Washington planned by Martin Luther King just before his death—a march fulfilling his dream of a multi-racial coalition of poor people from all across the country.

Through its participation in the March and the accompanying encampment of poor people known as Resurrection City, Highlander began another major shift in focus. The hope of creating a multi-racial poor peoples' movement seemed tangible that summer and Highlander was urged by some of the participants to return to the mountains and begin working in the Appalachian coalfields. In addition to strengthening its existent ties with urban Appalachian groups, the school was soon involved with the anti-stripmine movement, and various community action organizations that were aided and abetted by the OEO language of one-third representation of the poor.

Although the notion of developing a multi-racial poor peoples' coalition dissolved quickly when faced with the difficulties of actually putting that into effect, Highlander continued its work in the southern mountain area.

In 1971, the school moved physically back to the mountains. The area where it had been living and working in Knoxville, Tennessee was urban renewed and to this day the place where Highlander stood is the only lot that has been bulldozed to the ground. It is now located near New Market, Tennessee, on a 110 acre farm, overlooking the Smokey Mountains.

* * * *

Highlander started out as a "southern"/"mountain" school and during its 50 year history it has been both of those things. The term "Appalachian" was not in vogue in 1932 when Myles and Don settled on the Cumberland Plateau, but Highlander was a well-known term, thus the Highlander Folk School. During its first two decades, Highlander worked with people from the mountains and with people from other parts of the South.

The school's identification during those early years was much like the Cumberland Plateau where it was located—perched both figuratively and literally between the coalfields to the north and the agricultural regions to the South. Until the early 1950s it was able to maintain itself successfully as both a southern school and a mountain school.

During the period of the civil rights movement, however, Highlander became almost totally a "southern" institution. It was only during the late 1960s and early 70s that Highlander could be called a strictly Appalachian institute.

Much of Highlander's work in the coalfields in this period reflected the assumption that the region was a "colony." The distinctiveness of both the Appalachian coalfields and the deep South states has eroded as they have both become more Americanized. While each remains a colony, in the sense that the wealth from their natural resources are spirited away to the Eastern establishment, they are no more distinctive than the Indian lands of the Southwest, or perhaps more critical to our consciousness now, any of the Latin American, African, or Asian nations plundered for their natural and human resources by the multi-nationals.

For the last five years, Highlander has neither called itself an Appalachian institution nor a Southern institution. As it once was in the early days on the

Cumberland Plateau, it is again perched between two worlds.

The real question, however, is not a matter of regional/geographic definition, but rather what impact Highlander has made on either of these regions and what we can learn for the future. Highlander's impact can be assessed in two ways: its impact on the establishment community, and its impact on the people for whom it was intended—workers, farmers, students, and community leaders. It is important to realize that Highlander always has been a controversial school.

In 1936 when the Highlander Staff helped form the Highlander Folk Cooperative they were attacked by the head of the Southern States Industrial Council, who complained that:

It would be interesting for the taxpayers of Tennessee and of this capitalistic nation to know just what the relationship is between the so-called Highlander Folk Cooperative and the Highlander Folk School.

The question that was asked in 1936 has been asked over and over again in Highlander's history: Exactly what is Highlander's relationship with the people who are moving and shaping the society? It was asked of the Folk Cooperative in 1936; it was asked about the union movement in the 1940s; it was asked about the civil rights movement in the 50s; the Appalachian movement in the 60s; and more currently it has been asked of small communities like Bumpass Cove in East Tennessee. Exactly what is Highlander's relationship to all these people who are causing trouble, and would it not be possible to stop the trouble by simply stopping this "so-called school"?

Although I ask the question from a different point of view, it is indeed a good question and one that has always haunted the Highlander staff as well as those people in opposition to the school. The people who are on the other side of the controversy believe that Highlander manipulates and controls, and in fact, creates troublemakers. The Highlander staff has always believed in the power of ordinary people to affect real change in our society, and believe that it is our responsibility as educators to support those efforts for social change.

The relationship between Rosa Parks attending a Highlander workshop in the summer of 1955 and refusing to give up her seat that following December on a Montgomery bus is not a proven relationship at all. It does not mean that because she attended the Highlander workshop that she then went back to Montgomery and started the civil rights movement. The Highlander workshop that Rosa Parks attended was, no doubt, only one of the factors involved in her refusal to relinquish her seat on the bus. More importantly was the role that she had already played in the civil rights movement in Montgomery, Alabama, as an active member of the NAACP for several years; she had worked closely with Mr. E.D. Nixon to find a suitable case that would test segregated seating on the busses. Probably somewhat important to her decision—and yet unknown to us in its specifics—was what she found at Highlander that summer: the ability to live in an interracial community of people; to express freely her own thinking about the interracial movement in the South; and to catch a glimpse of what perhaps an in-

tegrated society might look like. And as Rosa Parks said recently, it was the first time she found white people that she could trust.

Another way to look at the different responses from different audiences is to look at the charge of a “communist training school,” a charge that has been leveled against Highlander in almost every period of its history. It is not unusual for people to call Highlander communist as a way of dismissing it or a way of attacking what it stands for. It is also not unusual for students who have been at Highlander to say in response, “If that’s what it means to be a communist, then it must be good.”

Another factor that’s in play here is an unstated and almost unconscious acknowledgement of what it means when people come together—the power that people have to teach one another. The very notion that black leaders across the South had a place to come and meet with white people who agreed with them about changing segregation in the South was threatening to the white power establishment of the time. It was easy for them to believe that Highlander itself was the threat, but implicit in their own fear was a gut understanding of the power of people acting collectively to bring about change.

Though it may be an unconscious and unstated fear on the part of the establishment, it had not always been a conscious belief on the part of Highlander students. One of the most exciting processes to see is Highlander’s educational theory put into practice when people, by exchanging their experiences, finally feel affirmed in their own beliefs and actions. Few people go away from a Highlander workshop without understanding the power of collective political action. Few people go away feeling that the problems they’ve encountered affect only them.

Highlander started its 50th year with a commitment on the part of the board members and the staff to use its anniversary to celebrate and affirm the past, but more importantly, to look as unflinchingly as possible into the future, and what its own role might be as an educational center for social change.

The issues and the communities that Highlander will work with in the 1980s and beyond will no longer be as clear cut as they have been in the past. In the 1930s and 40s, Highlander had a very clear cut decision to make: to work with the labor movement or not to work with the labor movement. In the 1950s and 60s, it had the same kind of decision to make regarding the civil rights movement. In the 1960s and early 70s, it found a natural place working in the Appalachian coalfields. The question arises now in 1982: What now is our situation and place?

Our place now can neither be defined by a county or regional line, and our situation is one that we increasingly share with all the people of the world. We cannot talk to people in one Appalachian community about toxic waste without understanding that toxic waste has to be buried somewhere, and if not here, then perhaps in someone else’s community. We cannot talk to people about absentee ownership of land without understanding that the same thing holds true in the Southwest and other parts of the country. We cannot talk about occupational health and safety as it relates to our industries in this area and not understand that it affects workers all over the United States and all over the world.

We feel poised on the edge of a new era at Highlander. The time seems right to consolidate many of the lessons we have learned from our work in Appalachia with earlier experiences in the deep South states. The critical issues that face the country in the 1980s will know no regional boundary. The problem before us will be to keep our focus and understand always the strength and knowledge that comes from our own people. But we must also begin to see ourselves as part of a larger community. What is it that our southern/Appalachian communities have in common with the Indian communities of the Southwest—especially as it regards the rape of the land and the theft of natural resources? What is it that we have in common with workers from Latin America as they battle the same multi-nationals that also affect us? And what do we have to teach other people? Is it possible, perhaps, that the people from Johns Island, South Carolina, who participated in Citizenship Training Programs there in the 1950s have anything to teach the peasants in Nicaragua or El Salvador about literacy and political power? And what do we have to learn from them in return about how precious a true democracy is, and—about issues yet unstated in this country such as land reform?

I don't know the answers to all of these questions and neither does Highlander. The lesson that all of us can learn from Highlander's past is really the same as it was in 1932 as articulated by Myles Horton in the small community of Ozone.

You don't have to know the answers. You raise the questions, sharpen the questions, get people to discussing them.

If anything is different now, it is that we must not only raise and sharpen the questions within our own community and region, but in the larger world community—anywhere that people are fighting for justice.

Values And Political Economy

This page intentionally left blank

Introduction

Rick Simon

The shared beliefs of groups within the Appalachian region shape, and are shaped by, the organization of economic and social relationships. There is a substantial literature which tries to analyze the extent of these interactions, including the origins and development of "the" Appalachian value system. As necessary as these investigations are, they are often unsatisfactory in arriving at generally acceptable propositions. The values attributed to mountain people are often contradictory, reflecting, in part, the different values of Appalachian scholars. Nonetheless, the analysis of values is central to many issues of importance, as illustrated by the two essays which follow. The first illustrates how the mountain liberal values of Harry Caudill structure his interpretation of the history of the southern mountains. The second essay shows that values influence the identification of problems and their proposed solutions.

Harry Caudill has been the single most important writer on Appalachia during the past twenty years, not only because he is the most recognized outside of the region, but also because his work has been the most influential inside the region. Ronald Eller begins the necessary task of reviewing the contributions of Harry Caudill by noting the contradiction between Caudill's analysis of the exploitative development of the mountain mineral and human resources and "the lack of faith in the folk." Eller dismisses Caudill's analysis of the "backwoods" mountaineer culture, particularly its origin in inherited social characteristics and genetic inferiority. Eller locates the roots of Caudill's misconceptions in his values—those of the mountain liberal. As the urban liberal eschewed the ability of other minorities to take control of their lives, Caudill places his political faith in "enlightened government intervention under the auspices of careful planners." Furthermore, "because Caudill is uncomfortable with Appalachian culture...," he sees the future of Appalachia tied to its ability to introduce, in Eller's words, "the same urbane and cosmopolitan values that Caudill prefers." Eller, in conclusion, asks, "Do we continue to bear the cultural burdens of the liberal past, or do we allow mountain people to survive as mountaineers?"

Although the definition of mountaineer may differ among students of Appalachia, the need to preserve the culture was one lesson drawn from a series of conferences about Appalachia. Deborah Markley and Brady Deaton investigate the relationship between cultural values and public policy by investigating two forums about the future of Appalachia. They summarize the overriding concern at the 1975 forum as "a lack of control over the destiny of the region." However,

at the more recent 1981 gathering, they find that “optimism, activism, community participation, and coalition building” were the themes often repeated. As if in response to Caudill’s pessimism about the “backwoods culture,” conference participants were told about “successful attempts by local citizens to achieve community development goals (health clinics, jobs, and tax and environmental reform),” and about land ownership research by and for local residents. Markley and Deaton argue, “Since many observers (at the conferences) perceive that outside change agents are willing to sacrifice local values for other ends, such as profit or control,...Appalachia’s people are forced to action, to political participation, and to assertion of their rights as residents of the region in an effort to preserve their basic values.” Thus mountain values are not only seen as worth preserving, but as containing the seeds of struggle necessary to shape political economic change consistent with the positive legacy of Appalachian history and culture.

Harry Caudill And The Burden Of Mountain Liberalism

Ronald D. Eller

If Appalachian scholars prove to be as loyal to their mentors as those of the South are to C. Vann Woodward and Rupert Vance, considerable honor ought to be laid before the reputation of Harry Monroe Caudill. Since the publication in 1963 of *Night Comes to the Cumberlands*, Caudill has emerged as a prominent national spokesman for Appalachia and the foremost critic of economic exploitation and environmental destruction in the region. His prolific writings—including seven books and many articles—are widely read in regional studies classes and on college campuses across the country. He was one of the early proponents of the “colonial model” of Appalachian development, an interpretation which has come to dominate the literature on the region in the last decade.¹ He has condemned the pillage of Appalachia by absentee corporations, championed a severance tax to return a portion of the wealth to the mountains, and decried the effects of the welfare state on mountain life. More than any other contemporary author, Caudill has helped to shape the way many Americans have come to perceive our region and the way we in Appalachia have come to understand ourselves and our heritage.

Caudill's contributions to the region have come both as a historian and as a social critic. He was one of the first writers to reject the static image of Appalachian life and to describe the tragic industrial history of eastern Kentucky. His version of the arrival of the coal and timber barons, his conception of mountain politics, and his account of the union drives, the collapse of the coal economy and the rise of the welfare state have become the conventional wisdom. Although his research lacks scholarly documentation and his narrative focuses only on the Cumberland Plateau, Caudill's image of eastern Kentucky has become the popular image of Appalachia as a whole. As John Knowles contends on the jacket cover of one of Caudill's books, “This is the true picture of life in Southern Appalachia, eloquently recorded in all its gritty reality and wavering hope.”² Indeed, it is a tribute to Caudill's stature that after two decades, few scholars have challenged his original account of the Appalachian past, and his work remains a point of departure for new research on the region.

Yet while Caudill has fashioned the most compelling image of Appalachia offered by his generation, his image of the region has a strategy not entirely born of the historical evidence alone. By his own admission, Caudill is a “liberal,” and, if one adds the word “mountain” to that definition, one has a basic text for understanding the man and his work. The descendent of a pioneer family in

eastern Kentucky and the son of a local New Deal politician, Caudill was educated at the University of Kentucky, served for over thirty years as a lawyer and politician in Whitesburg, and eventually returned to his alma mater as Professor of History. Along with others of his social rank and background, Caudill shares many of the values, visions, and assumptions of Twentieth Century American liberalism, tempered and shaped by the values of the southern mountain middle class. We are all, of course, victims of our social presumptions, but this impediment weighs heavily on the historian since it unconsciously affects the questions that we ask and the way that we interpret what we find. In Caudill's case, the burden of these presumptions has not only influenced his role as a regional prophet, but it has shaped his understanding of the regional heritage upon which that prophesy is built. To understand Caudill as a historian, we must also understand Caudill as a phenomenon in the intellectual history of the region as well.

Throughout the history of Appalachia and at least since the 1860's, there has existed a veiled tension between the mountain middle class and the rest of the mountain population. Residing primarily in the larger valleys, villages, and towns, the middle class has had greater contact with the larger world outside of the region and has more readily accepted modern attitudes and value orientations. Having easier access to education, political power, economic opportunities, and technology, they have esteemed progress, growth and change. While their ambitions for themselves and their communities have not diminished their attachment to the mountains, their values have acquired a certain cosmopolitan quality which has often led them to perceive less wealthy mountaineers with a certain condescension and contempt. Indeed, they have been wont to stigmatize their more traditional neighbors on the ridges and in the headwater coves and industrial camps as ignorant, primitive and backward—a barrier to the progress of the region. This disdain for the lower classes contributed to the severity of Civil War divisions in the region and played a major role in the post-war development and modernization of the mountains.³ Recently it emerged in the reluctance of the middle class to accept the term "Appalachia" during the 1960's because that term connoted poverty and backwardness, conditions with which the middle class was reluctant to identify.

Along with other members of the mountain middle class, many liberals in the region have shared this patronizing view of the "folk." To genteel reformers educated in the "best" institutions outside of the region and believing in order, efficiency, and man's ability to control his destiny, the traditional mountain population has seemed naive, primitive, uncultured, and fatalistic toward life. After all, it is the rural masses who were "hoodwinked" by nepotism and corrupt politicians and who sold their birthright to outside exploiters. Mountain folk, it seems, have allowed the land to be ravaged and the schools to deteriorate while they have clung to a culture which is deemed conservative and passive. This cultural condescension and lack of faith in the folk (whether they be black, Chicano, Indian, or Appalachian) has burdened the history of American

liberalism for generations and has been a consummate part of the liberal tradition in the mountains.

It is out of this tradition that Harry Caudill approaches the history and contemporary life of Appalachia. While condemning the exploitation of the region by nonresident corporations and the destruction of the land for the sake of its mineral wealth, Caudill lays much of the blame for the region's problems on a conservative highland culture which has left the population beleaguered, quiescent, and forlorn. "No people in the nation are more forlorn than the Appalachian Highlanders in our time," he has written. "Their bewilderment grows out of a tenacious, deeply rooted, and conservative culture which was abruptly overwhelmed by vast forces that shattered the old without creating a viable system of new values, mores, and relationships."⁴ Frontier attitudes, ignorance, and isolation have produced in Appalachia, according to Caudill, "a backwoods culture" which has "made its people susceptible to an outside exploitation of their resources that has perpetuated on them a passive society largely dependent on relief."⁵

Caudill traces the roots of this "backwoods culture" to a certain genetic deficiency which he believes has plagued the region for more than two hundred years. "Every person and society," he asserts, "is a product of two factors, genes and culture," and since the culture of the mountains has evolved in isolation over many generations, the key to understanding Appalachia today, he believes, lies in the first white inhabitants who settled the region. "Many deeply rooted attitudes that still give rise to poverty and resignation," he argues, "may have been instilled in the mountaineers' ancestors during the centuries preceding the first English voyage to the New World."⁶ Caudill finds that the earliest pioneers into the mountains were themselves degenerate social outcasts of English society whose lack of will and ambition were perpetuated through years of seclusion in Appalachian hollows. This "human refuse" of the cities and greater towns of Britain—"nauseous hell holes of crime and venality," he calls them—"came in unnumbered thousands as indentured servants, redemptioners, transported felons and misdemeanants, and evicted tenants shipped off by landlords who nurtured some little spark of compassion."⁷ While the majority of immigrants to North America were the "very poor and outcast," the worst of these "mean English," who were unable to compete with their tidewater kinsmen, somehow found their way into the mountainous hinterland where they established the "seed stock" of subsequent generations of mountaineers.⁸

Of course most social scientists today reject the idea of inherited social characteristics, especially when values and social behavior are claimed to have been passed down for more than two hundred years, but Professor Caudill chooses not to acknowledge such evidence.⁹ Nor has he provided historical documentation to support his ideas of the background and nature of early mountain settlement. Indeed the historical evidence of the genetic deficiency of early mountain settlers simply does not exist, and those who would accept such a theory must do so on faith, not facts. Quite the contrary, scholarly research indicates that the population pool which settled the mountains was part and parcel of that which settled

the rest of the South and the American frontier during the Revolutionary period. Appalachian pioneers were of multicultural origins and settled in the region out of choice rather than chance or desperate flight from tidewater society.¹⁰ Their ancestors were less the criminals and homeless orphans of British slums than a mixture of working class and middle-class Europeans who came to the New World seeking economic improvement and social freedom. In fact, contemporary social historians reject Caudill's picture of the teeming and inequitous cities of England spewing out its orphans, impoverished masses, and psychological invalids onto the American frontier. This view is adequate for the fiction of Charles Dickens but not for contemporary British scholars. Most white migrants to the colonies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries were young, skilled laborers who were literate and had been part of the British labor force before migrating to the New World.¹¹

Caudill's version of Appalachian settlement derives primarily from the work of late Nineteenth Century intellectuals, especially John Fiske, whose racial attitudes, images of society, and Social Darwinist philosophies have been discredited by subsequent generations of scholars. He also draws heavily on the work of John Fox, Jr., and other local color writers whose literature contributed to the development, at the turn of the century, of certain negative and romantic images of the region—what Henry Shapiro calls the “idea of Appalachia” as a region somehow in, but not of America.¹²

But Caudill's misinterpretation of mountain origins is more than a misreading of outmoded sources, for the “genes thesis” provides a necessary prelude to the theoretical development of the rest of Caudill's vision of the region. Having established the genetic inferiority of mountain people and having determined that inferior genes lead to inferior culture and that “the faults of the culture outweighed its strengths,” Caudill is then able to portray the mountain population as unsophisticated and childish, easy game for clever lawyers and land speculators who sought to steal their land and mineral rights.¹³ Indeed, he persistently describes the mountaineers as children—ignorant and naive and in need of guidance and direction. Reflecting the oft repeated pattern of liberal paternalism toward blacks, Indians, and other minority groups, Caudill's mountaineers are “as guileless as infants” and possess a “childish trust in others.”¹⁴ When the coal boom descends on the region at the turn of the century, the mountaineers are mesmerized by the bright dresses, skirts, hats and baubles of the new age and flock to the “Alabaster Cities” and their fine company housing. “In the first few years after the railroads were built,” Caudill writes, “thousands of mountaineers rushed into the coal camps and their glittering commissaries with all the abandon of a troop of six-year-olds let loose in a toy store.”¹⁵ When the coal boom burst and Uncle Sam stepped in with his welfare handouts, the mountaineers quietly accepted their lot on “paleface reservations” and became professional reliefers, welfare malingeringers, and psychoneurotic pill poppers. The best and the brightest of the region having left through out-migration, the mountain gene pool has deteriorated further leaving behind a society which is increasingly shiftless, indolent and inane.¹⁶

Caudill's vision of a benighted Appalachian culture is strikingly similar to that of liberal Progressives at the turn of the century who viewed the Southern masses and urban working classes as ignorant plebs who were easily duped by populist demagogues and corrupt precinct leaders. Like earlier Progressives who considered populist dreams and urban politics to be "backward" and "inefficient," Caudill refuses to believe that mountaineers might have acted rationally to evolving social and economic conditions which were beyond their control. Yet there is considerable evidence that many mountaineers did just that—at first resisting the new order and then accepting the rules of the new game and doing the best they could to survive. Indeed the survival of the very mountain cultural traditions which Caudill criticizes may have been a positive defense on the part of mountain people to the inequities and powerlessness which resulted from the industrialization and modernization of the region. Rather than blame the resulting human tragedies of Appalachia on the political processes of modernism and industrial capitalism (both of which have sought to concentrate power rather than disperse it), Caudill finds the local culture itself to be the ultimate barrier to "progress" since the mountain masses cannot be trusted to make sound decisions for themselves.

Just as the Progressives, moreover, placed their political faith, not in the vagaries of democracy, but in education, government action, and efficient planning by the "best" people in the society, Caudill's hope for the future of Appalachia lies in "enlightened government intervention under the auspices of careful planners...."¹⁷ In 1963, Caudill praised the model of the Tennessee Valley Authority as "a showpiece of effective planning and accomplishment" and suggested that a similar Southern Mountain Authority might rebuild the devastated economy and society of Appalachia.¹⁸ When the Appalachian Regional Commission and other federal agencies of the 1960's failed to bring about significant change, Caudill blamed not only inefficient and ineffective government programs but the cultural inability of mountaineers to use government for their own benefit. "Progress, even survival, in the modern world," he wrote, "requires soundly conceived governmental policies, forthrightly and effectively executed. People who use government prosper while people who shrink from it sink."¹⁹

This lack of confidence in the mountaineer's political abilities has led Caudill in recent years to fall back on two possible solutions to the region's problems: (1) the replenishment of the Appalachian gene pool and (2) the revitalization of the region's culture and politics through education. As he is reported to have told Neal Pierce,

The best thing that could happen to the mountains would be for the Army to put in a big base, thus introducing some new genes into the people's bloodstream. "Send in some of those eager boys, because these mountain girls will cross with anybody. They do love to consort, and that would be good for the country. Many of the problems of East Kentucky that they're spending money on are insoluble until you get in new genes."²⁰

One of the greatest tragedies of the 1960's, Caudill believes, was the failure of many of the young and energetic poverty workers from across America to remain

in the mountains at the end of their service. "The years of rediscovery," he asserts, "brought the highlands people an unparalleled opportunity to widen their mental horizon and enrich their gene pool." Unfortunately, most of these young people, trained in the best universities of America did not stay, and many others who had applied for teaching positions were turned away by local politicians—denied the opportunity to "enrich and strengthen" mountain public schools. Such teachers could have brought to Appalachia, he suggests, "the broader world of great music, fine arts, classic and first-rate contemporary literature, and lively thought and dissertation" which had been precluded in the region because "the urbane and cosmopolitan [middle class] could bring no political leverage" on traditional school boards.²¹

Like his Progressive forebears, Caudill has a deep rooted faith in the power of education, but this confidence does not extend to the traditional mountain school system, which he believes is provincial, narrow, and culturally inbred. In 1963 Caudill was a strong advocate of school consolidation in the mountains. Only through the construction of "attractive schoolhouses" to replace "the present drab facilities," he believed could education "with its accompanying sense of confidence and purpose" bring an end to the cycle of Welfarism.²² More than a decade later, however, the new schoolhouses had become a reality and most of the one-room schools had disappeared. Yet the promise of school consolidation had not been fulfilled since the Welfare State had burgeoned and the new schools had not brought the renaissance of mountain attitudes and values which Caudill had anticipated. Again he found that the problem lay in the conservative culture of the people and in the ineptness of mountain teachers, colleges, and universities. Not only did "backcountry school administrators" prefer to hire local people as opposed to more talented outsiders, but most of these local teachers were trained in the "intellectually circumscribed" regional colleges of education. "Graduates tended to leave these campuses," he lamented, "with little more knowledge than they brought with them, returning to their counties with their horizons little broadened and their minds burdened by poorly understood and often specious theories of 'methodology.'" Rare indeed was "the audacious soul who had ventured so far as the University of Kentucky, an institution most regarded as too large and too sophisticated."²³

This, Caudill argues, has been the fundamental failure of the new schools.

They could not be staffed with people who reflected disparate and stimulating backgrounds, so a deadening uniformity spread through the classrooms. Teachers drawn from Appalachian backgrounds, "trained" on insipid campuses and often strangers to true learning, brought a shocking lack of content to the teacher's desk.²⁴

The consequence, Caudill believes, has been a "sustained, systematic intellectual inbreeding—the education of highland youth by teachers who reflect highland mores and attitudes at every turn." This has blanketed the school system, as it has the culture,

with an incredible conservatism, indeed, a veritable reverence for traditionalism. Unwilling to venture into new and uncertain educational environs during their own scholastic efforts, they urge the same narrowness and caution upon their students, thus reinforcing the

innate conservatism they hear in their homes and communities morning, noon and night.²⁵

Because Caudill is uncomfortable with Appalachian culture and because he fails to find any liberal tradition in the mountains with which to identify, he turns to educational ideals and political models from outside the region. He would like mountain schools to encourage competition and intellectual rigor among listless and apathetic youth. In a phrase, he would like mountain students to become universal, renaissance men and women—the core of an enlightened middle class who would replace corrupt local politicians with “better people.”²⁶ His “better people,” of course, share the same urbane and cosmopolitan values that Caudill prefers. His political heroes are not native mountaineers who have struggled in their own way against corporate exploitation, union corruption, and bureaucratic insensitivity but well-educated immigrant politicians like West Virginia’s Ken Hechler and Jay Rockefeller.²⁷ Like the Progressive reformers and missionaries who came into the region at the turn of the century to “uplift” and “Americanize” the mountains, Caudill would, subconsciously I think, see much of Appalachian culture destroyed in order to save Appalachia.

In this respect, however, Caudill shares the burdens of other American liberals who have sought with the best of intentions to bring minority groups into the mainstream of American life. For Caudill and many other mountain liberals, the task has been not to maintain regional distinctiveness and cultural identity but to assimilate the region into the nation. While asserting the rights of Appalachian people in the abstract, his contempt for the received cultural heritage of Appalachia has provided him with little confidence in the ability of the mountaineers to exercise those rights. As time has passed and Professor Caudill has discovered how imposing are the economic (not to mention the cultural) forces which he deplores, he has done a very human thing. Still burdened by this lack of faith in mountain people, he has blamed not his opponents, but their victims. The Appalachian people, he has concluded,

allowed themselves to be colonized ninety years ago when European and American capitalists were carving up Africa, Asia and Latin America into imperial fiefdoms. Elsewhere the native populations have revolted and cast out their absentee overlords, but with few exceptions quiescent Appalachian mountaineers still cast their votes in support of people who would be called exploiters, oppressors, imperialists and a wide assortment of other uncomplimentary names by rebels in other parts of the world....It is hard to imagine a people so oriented climbing up from their abyss. They are more likely to dig themselves down to deeper levels.²⁸

Caudill’s hope for the mountains, therefore, lies not in the “ultraconservative, traditionalistic people” of Appalachia, but in the nationalization of mineral resources, the more effective use of government, and above all, the immigration of “more aggressive and acquisitive people from areas not yet sapped by exploitation and the dry rot of welfarism.”²⁹ This new blood would “create a reconstituted society with different aspirations drawn from different backgrounds....” Most of the new people, he assumes, would be fleeing the problems of urban congestion and environmental pollution and would bring not only a commitment to political

action and responsibility, but a conservationist land ethic as well. This would result in the passage of "zoning and land use laws and efforts to preserve residential areas against intrusion from mining and other industries. The old frontier-spawned propensity for disorder will recede," he believes, and an increased coherence and sense of organization will emerge. "The movement toward coherence, order and organization," Caudill adds, would be hastened "if substantial numbers of the newcomers derive from the orderly Scandinavian stock in parts of the West."³⁰ Caudill's model for the future is not a model out of the Appalachian past but out of the cultural assumptions of modern liberalism. It offers no alternatives to modernization and the continued concentration of political and economic power and little prospect for cultural diversity, self-reliance, self-respect, and local initiative.

For almost two decades Professor Caudill has raised the liberal challenges of social responsibility in politics and business and the appropriate use of the land upon which we all depend. It is for these issues that he has attracted such widespread admiration and support among Appalachian intellectuals and activists. But it is interesting, and perhaps revealing, to note what little outcry his vision of Appalachian culture has provoked among these same liberals. Is it because we ourselves share this lack of faith in the folk and are at times a bit uncomfortable with much of Appalachian culture? Harry Caudill is the kind of figure about whom Richard Hofstadter once wrote: "If we are to have any new thoughts, if we are to have an intellectual identity of our own, we must make the effort to distinguish ourselves from those who preceded us, and perhaps preeminently from those to whom we once had the greatest indebtedness."³¹ Perhaps it is time for those of us in Appalachian studies to acknowledge our debt and to move beyond Harry Caudill in search of not only a more accurate history of our region but also a more appropriate and just vision of the future. This is the challenge facing social action in Appalachia today. Do we continue to bear the cultural burdens of the liberal past or do we allow mountain people to survive as mountaineers?

Notes

1. See Helen M. Lewis, et al., *Colonialism in Modern America: The Appalachian Case* (Boone, N.C.: 1978).
2. Harry Caudill, *The Watches of the Night: A New Plea for Appalachia* (Boston, 1976).
3. See Phillip Shaw Paludan, *Victims: A True Story of the Civil War* (Knoxville, 1981) pp. 6-30 and Ronald D. Eller, *Miners, Millhands and Mountaineers: The Modernization of the Appalachian South, 1880-1930* (Knoxville, 1982), pp. 11-12 and 58-64.
4. Harry Caudill, *A Darkness at Dawn: Appalachian Kentucky and the Future* (Lexington, 1976), p. 23.
5. *Ibid.*, jacket cover.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

7. Harry Caudill, *Night Comes to the Cumberlands: A Biography of a Depressed Area* (Boston, 1963), p. 4-6 and *Darkness at Dawn*, p. 2.
8. "An Interview with Harry Caudill," *Appalachian Journal*, Vol. 8 No. 4 (Summer, 1981), pp. 277-278 and *Night Comes to the Cumberlands*, p. 6.
9. See for example, Steven J. Gould, *The Mismeasurement of Man* (New York, 1981) and Leon J. Kamin, *The Science and Politics of I.Q.*, (New York, 1974).
10. See William H. Tallmadge, "Anglo-Saxon vs. Scotch-Irish," *Mountain Life and Work*, 45, No. 2 (February, 1969); Richard Drake, "Anglo-Saxon vs. Scotch-Irish," *Mountain Life and Work*, 45, No. 4 (April 1969); and Cratis D. Williams, "The Southern Mountaineer in Fact and Fiction," *Appalachian Journal*, 3, No. 1 (Autumn, 1975).
11. See Peter Clark and Paul Slack, *English Towns in Transition, 1500-1700* (London, 1976) and David W. Galenson, "British Servants and the Colonial Indenture System in the Eighteenth Century," *The Journal of Southern History*, XLIV (February, 1978), pp. 41-65.
12. *Darkness at Dawn*, p. 6; *Night Comes to the Cumberlands*, p. 91. See Henry D. Shapiro, *Appalachian on Our Mind: The Southern Mountains and Mountaineers in the American Consciousness, 1870-1920* (Chapel Hill, 1978).
13. *Darkness at Dawn*, p. 12.
14. *Night Comes to the Cumberlands*, pp. 62-63 and *Darkness at Dawn*, p. 15.
15. *Night Comes to the Cumberlands*, p. 103.
16. *Watches of the Night*, p. 225.
17. *Night Comes to the Cumberlands*, p. 367.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 367-68.
19. *Darkness at Dawn*, p. 20.
20. Neal R. Pierce, *The Border South States: People, Politics and Power in the Five States of the Border South* (New York, 1975), p. 266.
21. *Watches of the Night*, pp. 50-52.
22. *Night Comes to the Cumberlands*, p. 288.
23. *Watches of the Night*, pp. 209-10.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 210.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 211.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 226 and 235-36.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
28. *Watches of the Night*, p. 260.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 262-63.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 264.
31. Richard Hofstadter, *The Progressive Historians: Turner, Beard, Parrington* (New York, 1966), p. XIV.

Human Values And Resource Development In The Political Economy Of Appalachia: A Synthesis Of Two Regional Forums

*Deborah Morentz Markley
and Brady J. Deaton**

Two major regional conferences—"Appalachia Looks at its Future: Human Values, Resources Development, Political Economy" held in 1975 and "The Second Forum on the Future of Appalachia: Human Values and the Political Economy" held in 1981—sought to clarify the interrelationship between human values and public policy in the Appalachian region. The papers presented at these forums provide the basis for our attempt to interpret the interrelationship between cultural values and public policy in the Appalachian region as articulated by some of the important actors—representatives of state and local governments, educational institutions, industry, and various citizen groups. Both forums brought together representatives of, primarily, five states (Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia).**

Specifically, this paper presents a synthesis of ideas delineated at the conferences. The cultural values described by participants in the conferences as important to a true understanding of the Appalachian region are discussed and their apparent continuity over time is appraised. Important changes were observed in the primary themes from the first to the second forum. We will explore whether these themes reflect changing values or simply different responses to political, social, and economic forces affecting the region. Finally, we will discuss whether a common set of values or a common policy perspective is evident in the region, i.e., whether a "regional consciousness" appears to be emerging among discrete groups, and what implications a regional consciousness may hold for the future of the Appalachian region.

APPALACHIAN VALUES

Any discussion of specific values can best proceed from a common understanding or definition of a value. Charles Cleland, at the first forum, defined a value as "an idea which is prized by the holder and for which the holder will make some sacrifice to support."¹ He also notes that an individual has a multitude of values which are acted upon at different times and which, occasionally, may come into conflict. Such conflicts are, perhaps, more readily identified at the community level rather than in an individual.

The expression of basic values is subtle and, therefore, usually requires that we

infer something about values from observation of human or community behavior. Direct observation of human values, particularly within a region such as Appalachia, is a difficult, if not impossible task. However, the regional forums, designed as they were to specifically discuss human values in Appalachia, elicited definitions of a series of human or cultural values, and sought to provide insight into how these values helped shape and were, in turn, shaped by political and economic events of the times.

At the 1975 forum, Cleland identified the primary values of Appalachian people as: individualism, traditionalism, fatalism, fundamentalist religious beliefs, and strength of family. With one exception these same values were articulated by Betty Crickard at the second forum.² She identified individualism, religion, and family as values that come under the umbrella of traditionalism. Fatalism was specifically excluded which serves as a possible indicator of other important differences in the themes expressed at each forum. This point will be discussed below in more detail.

The remarkable continuity in identification of basic values in spite of significant social and economic changes in the region during this time period may suggest cultural resiliency and adaptability. Therefore, changes in the key themes expressed at each forum more likely reflect differences in perception and in the way in which values are acted upon, not changes in basic values.

The persistence of closely held values directs our analysis to the extent to which public policy has been shaped to reflect and provide meaning to closely held values. These issues are developed further in the next section where the major themes from each forum are identified and related to basic values.

KEY THEMES

The 1975 Forum—One overriding theme evident in the first forum was: a lack of control over the destiny of the region. The discussion related to this central theme centered primarily around five key perceptions:

1. Relatively little local control over changes affecting the region which emanate primarily from outside the region;
2. A lack of citizen participation in government decisionmaking (whether on the federal, state, or local level);
3. A sense of alienation from public institutions;
4. A concern about the appropriate role of industrialization in the future development of the region; and
5. A need for local control over the resources in the region, i.e., concern with absentee corporate ownership of land.

Consistent with the national mood at that time, the forum reflected a feeling of distrust of people in authority. As one participant stated, “from Watergate to West Virginia, growing numbers of citizens at the grassroots share a growing suspicion of people in authority”.³ The authority at issue was not limited to the state or local level. Rather, the effectiveness of the federal and regional agencies establish-

ed to assist in the development of Appalachia was brought into serious question. As an example, Dean Rivkin writes, “TVA has begun to be looked on as a faceless giant imposing its preferences for social and economic change on an uninvolved citizenry.” And, in a similar vein regarding the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC), “the Commission’s inability to break anchor from its home base in Washington and establish its presence in the region, doomed ARC in the eyes of those in the region who knew all-too-well the source of their problems and that highways and centralized planning were not the solutions to the problems.”⁴ These statements reflect the feeling that Appalachia was “being done to,” not “being done with.”

Such feelings of powerlessness and lack of control over the local resource base were directed not only at federal or regional entities, but also at local governmental institutions and business interests. In describing the response of coal mine operators and miners to attempts by local citizens to organize against strip mining legislation, Marie Cirillo vividly described a confrontation between citizens and local elites. She writes, “if you can imagine a small, rural, isolated stripmining community controlled by a powerful (absentee-owned) business whose autonomy was threatened by community activity, you can probably have some feel for the fear and terror that people lived with for about three weeks.” She summarized the situation of powerlessness and political alienation of Appalachian people by noting that, “where the educational, economic, and political institutions operate as oppressive institutions in the mountains, the positive efforts to keep family, arts, crafts, music, and religion alive allow a resistance to a total takeover.”⁵ Cirillo clearly identified the underlying value structure as a major source of emotional and cultural support in the face of adversity.

The need to draw on these values in order to maintain local control and provide direction for the future development of the region was a pervasive theme. For example, industrialization is frequently cited as a necessary component of an appropriate development strategy for Appalachia. Yet, it was advocated at the first forum only in a modified form. Industrialization may be desirable “if industry could be told where to locate and how to operate based on human needs.”⁶ Curtis Seltzer argued for an industrial development strategy designed to improve the quality of life and enhance local control of resources. He proposed an effort based on “planning, public authority, popular participation, a sense of limits, community education and a goal of public benefit.”⁷ Again, the recurring themes of local control and broadened citizen participation are cast as the desirable framework for shaping the future of Appalachian people.

An upbeat view of coal’s future contribution to the region was presented at the first forum by John H. Gibbons.⁸ At that time, most factors pointed to continued coal expansion. Gibbons argued that this portends well for the future of the region if the full social costs of production are internalized and these revenues used to upgrade the human capital and institutions of the region.

Simon’s historical review of the coal industry at the second forum provided a more cautious perspective. He asserted that “those who would suggest coal as an

‘engine of development’ must prove their case.”⁹ Simon argued that the continuing booms and busts of the industry plague the economy and social fabric of the region. An integrated view of coal and its environment will be required, he argued, in order for its potential contribution to be fully realized.

The value of fatalism appears to play an important role in contributing to the sense of “being acted upon” so pervasive in the themes expressed above. However, the angry criticism and the search for alternative development models belie the simple acceptance of the role of fatalism. Thomas Ford, writing about the Southern Appalachian region in 1962, noted that traditionalism and fatalism had weakened considerably in recent decades. The activism reflected at the forum supported Ford’s observation.

What may have appeared as fatalism at the first forum may actually reflect the frustration of activists in the region responding to the intransigence of historical problems. While a sense of fatalism has long been identified with the Appalachian culture, the appearance that it persists even during a time of increased public attention and assistance to Appalachian people and their struggle may be more illusory than real. The issues and values articulated at the forum suggest that past development efforts may have amounted to a “skillful diversion from the core issue” that our “economic problem is really one of control and distribution of benefits.”¹⁰ Any efforts to promote or encourage economic or social change that do not include the active participation of local people and, therefore, a clear articulation of local area needs, generally find themselves without requisite local support. Forum participants clearly expressed this crucial concern by repeatedly pointing to lack of local control over the destiny of the region.

The 1981 Forum—Having sketched the general themes common to participants in the first forum, the pertinent differences in 1981 will be identified. Attempting to characterize this more recent forum with an overriding theme, words such as “optimism,” “activism,” “community participation,” and “coalition building” come to mind. A greater sense of people working together to help determine the future of the Appalachian region was evident and numerous examples of local success stories were described. At the same time, most participants recognized that severe federal budget cuts and a shifting national mood would surely reduce financial support for many needy projects. In spite of the recognition that budget cuts threaten recent gains in the region, an optimistic show of courage prevailed.

The changing themes are consistent with the charge of O. Norman Simpkins who, at the first forum, defined development as increasing control over the total environment, and argued for more grassroots involvement. His final challenge was to develop pride in present day accomplishments in Appalachia. If the second forum had explicitly chosen to explore the extent to which his challenge was accepted, there would have been little difference in the outcome of the forum. To continue with Simpkin’s theme, evidence from the second forum suggests that efforts are being made to enable citizens of the region to become the “hammer” of social change rather than the mislabeled passive, eversuffering “anvil.”¹¹

Five key issues were articulated at the 1981 conference:

1. Successful citizen participation has contributed to such areas as education, health care, housing, and economic development;
2. The need for employment in the region was emphasized and examples given of efforts to create permanent local employment opportunities;
3. The need for increased control over local resources was argued and ways discussed by which citizens can take an active role in determining ownership patterns of land and mineral resources.
4. Partnerships between financial institutions and citizen groups, business and citizen groups, and women and industry were cited as important components of any development strategy;
5. Coalition building was emphasized as an important means of consolidating the resources and support of many local groups.

Some of these concerns were voiced at the earlier forum, but seemed to lose their impact in the face of the general criticism of broad institutions and agencies. Small success stories seemed to be weak ammunition at the 1975 forum. While a different set of speakers would have presented alternative viewpoints at either forum, it seems reasonable to assert that the spirit of regional activism has changed markedly.*

Numerous examples of successful attempts by local citizens to achieve community development goals were offered by participants. Joan Ross, Executive Director of the Southwestern Community Action Agency in West Virginia, described how her agency was successful in opening modular health clinics in rural areas, in getting hot meals in rural schools, and in starting Appalachian Craftsmen, a local cottage industry. She pointed out the importance of partnerships by identifying the success of Appalachian Craftsmen as primarily due to the linkages established between the local crafts people and local business and civic organizations. In addition, she emphasized the importance of local participation in decisionmaking, "because it does make a difference in decisionmaking. You tend to make more rational decisions when you have the people who are going to be benefiting from your decisions involved in the process."¹²

In the area of employment, Ike Adams, Director of Community Development for the Kentucky Highlands Investment Corporation (KHIC), pointed to his organization's success in establishing local industries in east Kentucky. KHIC seeks to promote entrepreneurship by supplying venture capital to new and/or expanding businesses and helping to leverage other funds from traditional financial institutions. The KHIC provides venture capital loans and technical assistance to new industry.

As Adams pointed out, an important feature of the KHIC is its relative independence from federal funds resulting from its relative success in recent years. He stated that many community based organizations have developed a "mode of dependence on federal funds, and we have not developed a lot of alternate strategies for where we're going to get water when the well goes dry."¹³ These

words echo a concern expressed by many forum participants - what do we do in the post budget-cut years?

As in the 1975 forum, lack of local control over resources in the region, particularly absentee corporate ownership of land, was seen as an important problem by numerous participants. Tom D. Miller documented the extensive absentee corporate ownership of West Virginia at the 1975 forum.¹⁴ However, the character of the discussion changed in 1981, reflecting a mood of activism and organizing around the issue of local resource control. This mood seems to be based in part on the successful efforts of such groups as Save our Cumberland Mountains (COCM) who have worked many years to strengthen citizens' roles in tax reform and regulatory enforcement over strip-mining.¹⁵

John Gaventa in 1981 discussed some findings from the ARC funded land ownership study and cited several of its important characteristics. First, it was the first study funded by ARC to be undertaken by local people. Local residents researched ownership patterns in their own local, county records and conducted local interviews. Second, the findings are being made accessible to local groups at individual county, state, and regional levels in order to facilitate further organizing to resolve the problems made evident by the study's findings. Third, the study's findings suggest the need for property tax reform to more equitably reap some benefits from extensive outside ownership of land. Again, this issue is one which lends itself to local or state level organizing efforts. As Gaventa pointed out, "it is going to take political action at the local level where property tax reform begins. And that's as American as the Boston Tea Party."¹⁶

Two factors were identified as the basis for successful efforts to further social and economic reform in the region: (1) expanded citizen rights based on legal reform, and (2) coalition building. Darell V. McGraw, Jr., Justice, Supreme Court of Appeals, State of West Virginia, vividly described the importance of the judicial system in expanding citizen rights against powerful forces. He argued that spraying from the basic agrarian ideals embodied in State and Federal Constitutions has corrupted the political ideals of our society to the detriment of the citizenry. Judge McGraw also called attention to the salutary role of the Legal Services Corporation in seeking to "vindicate constitutional principles" in support of citizen rights for the Appalachian people.

The second factor, partnerships and coalition building among the important actors in Appalachia, was stressed by many participants as the key to successful attempts at social and economic development. Building coalitions to pool resources and political support becomes essential during periods, such as now, when the federal funds many groups depended upon have diminished or disappeared.

Michael Maloney, Executive Director of the Urban Appalachian Council, described the trend toward coalition building as follows: "Many of our differences based on ideology, social class, and sanction may begin to seem less important. I think they should begin to seem less important. This may bring about a level of movement that we've not seen since the 1960's."¹⁷ On the other hand, Mary Margaret Pignone cautioned that "coalition building is issue dependent."¹⁸ She

noted that we live in a world of pluralism which implies at least the potential for conflict among the basic values people hold. While it is possible to achieve compromise on some issues which are less closely held by the participants, it is also possible that compromise cannot be achieved on some issues based on values too important to relinquish. Pignone's statements pointed out the very real problems encountered in attempts at coalition building.

Once again, we come to the point of asking what role values play in giving rise to the issues raised at this forum. Two rather general observations appear in order. **First**, the fact that fatalism was not cited as part of the Appalachian value structure indicates some degree of evolution in the way in which Appalachian people deal with the world and/or in the way they are perceived by others. The 1975 forum emphasized the problems of the region and the lack of citizen input into determining solutions to those problems. A sense of resignation was stronger among participants at the first forum. The 1981 forum, at the opposite extreme, represented an obvious **lack** of resignation to the status quo. Efforts to achieve local participation and even local control over decisionmaking were viewed as successful and were offered as meaningful and proven alternative approaches to community and regional problems.

An important factor in the movement toward greater participation may have been the focus at the forum on state and local decisionmaking rather than on federal or regional processes. The second forum was designed to place a greater emphasis on forming or enhancing local and statewide coalitions. There was limited discussion of general, regional problems, except in a few very issue-specific ways; coal severance taxes, land ownership patterns, and coal development are examples. The focus by activists on state and local issues appears to have facilitated citizen participation and the process of coalition building. This increased participation may be clearly associated with an erosion of the relative position of fatalism in the value structure of Appalachian people. In any event, it appears that sufficiently satisfactory progress has been made on a number of important problems to engender a strong sense of progress and hope.

Second, many participants at the second forum stressed that a desire to preserve the cultural values of the region was an important factor leading to increased participation in decisionmaking. Participants felt that those outside the region who directed change within the region did not adequately consider the importance of these values of Appalachian people. This feeling was also expressed at the first forum during a period of strong federal presence in the region.

Since many observers perceive that outside change agents are willing to sacrifice local values for other ends, such as profit or control, it was argued that Appalachian people are forced to action, to political participation, and to assertion of their rights as residents of the region in an effort to preserve their basic values. Perhaps Betty Crickard said it most simply when she described the present as "a time of renewed commitment to enduring values in our culture and a time for action. The future of the past is the present!"¹⁹

Implications For Changing Roles Of Principal Actors In The Appalachian Region

While the future role of some actors within Appalachia is determined by changes stemming from efforts to preserve basic values, other groups have their roles dictated to them. For example, federal agencies may well play a reduced role because of the budget-cutting process. Fewer federal dollars can be expected to flow into the region as a result of basic cuts in social welfare programs, housing assistance, infrastructure investment (e.g., water and wastewater facility development), legal services, educational assistance, health care systems, and economic development programs (e.g., ARC, EDA).

Many observers feel that these funds have made vital contributions to past improvements in the standard of living in the region. Now as federal funds decline, the role of state governments is expected to increase. However, it is questionable whether state and local governments are capable of shouldering the massive financial burden being shrugged off by the federal government. A reduced federal role implicitly defines a reduced role for federally dependent regional agencies and an increased role for state and local governments. Whether these local entities are capable of meeting such an increased role is a question for future deliberations. Fortunately, effective local leadership has emerged in many communities with the zeal and vision needed to strengthen the capacity of local government units.

The increased level of citizen participation and constitutional reform described at the second forum have generated new sources of power that are not expected to diminish in the near future. Therefore, an active role for citizen groups and coalitions is foreseen, but their dependence on federal funds, the primary source of financing for these groups in the past, will not be the case in the future. The need to seek funding from other sources seems to define a stronger role in the future of the region for private institutions such as industry, churches, foundations, and financial institutions. We might expect these groups to be called on to finance and/or support in other ways the activities of local groups within the region. Whether they accept the challenge is yet to be seen.

Mary Margaret Pignone considered whether churches would or should assume the social service responsibilities from which the federal government has divested itself. If so, she argued, the church would serve only to support the current system by coming to its aid and meeting needs generally felt to be the responsibility of federal government. While she does not believe the poor should go unserved, Pignone supported her point by defining a “concomitant role of the church which would be taking a moral position to ask, to name, and to critique a system that professes to hold as inalienable rights the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. And that says that when the government won’t provide that, we’ll change that government.”²⁰ Again, the importance of the underlying value structure as a determinant of the role ascribed to particular groups within the region must be noted. Pignone implicitly ascribes a social welfare role for the federal government, while defining a role for the church as advocating the morality of our social system.

Finally, the numerous Appalachian studies centers and programs at universities and colleges within the region are seen as increasingly important for analyzing the values and culture of Appalachia. These centers serve the important functions of educating people both inside and outside the region about the characteristics and historical development of the region. They provide a means for self-reflection by residents of the region and are ultimately a source of cultural strength.

REGIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

In looking at the history of Appalachia, it appears that the "prime mover" behind the development of any regional perspective on Appalachia has been the federal government. Although earlier literary writers provided a regional identity for the region, it was primarily recognized by outsiders. One can seriously question the extent to which Appalachian people ever felt a sense of regional identity, even in the 1970's. Through the establishment of the TVA and the ARC, the federal government imposed a regional identity on an otherwise diverse and even isolated group of state and local entities, achieving what writers, poets, and churches either never attempted or failed to accomplish. The first forum clearly reflected this regional perspective as many of the issues discussed tended to be regional in nature.

The second forum was not devoid of a regional perspective. Many regional issues were discussed, such as land ownership, coalition building, the coal industry, and the impact of a diminished federal presence in the region. However, there was also a very strong sense of state identity.* Several individual state caucuses were held during the forum, with a good deal of participant support. Plans were laid for further action at the state level, coordinated by conference organizers from each participant state. There was a good deal of trading successful strategies among local citizen groups with the hope of repeating other groups' successes back home.

What, then, can be said about the importance, necessity, or desirability of a "regional consciousness" based on the experience of the forums? From our perspective, the evidence seems clear that a "regional consciousness" is not a necessary (implying important) requisite for successful social, economic, or political development in the region. In our opinion, the themes expressed in the two forums suggest that such a consciousness might actually hinder development in some areas, because the issues appear to be too great and all encompassing to handle when viewed at the regional level. For example, trying to reform the rural health care delivery system in the entire Appalachian region does not inspire the local action and spirit to prevail that the same issue in Claiborne County, Tennessee or Lincoln County, West Virginia inspires in the people in those local communities.

Granted, this is not to say that regional issues do not exist or that a regional perspective is not frequently warranted. A regional perspective may be essential in drawing attention to and gathering information about some issues, but effective action requires focus on a sub-unit within the region. For example, while the land-

ownership study was undertaken on a regional level, the information has been utilized at the state and county level, in an ongoing attempt to act on the findings of the overall study. Organization at the regional level was followed through by action at the state and local levels. On the other hand, all problems do not lend themselves to local solutions.

Once again Mary Margaret Pignone offers important insight on this issue. She contrasts regional planning with small group decisionmaking and states that regional planning "requires expertise that constantly drops people by the wayside." She argues instead for small group decisionmaking where people can be actively involved and, thus, experience the power that comes from control over decisionmaking. Such participation should be an integral part of the planning process. Unfortunately, state- and local-level decisionmaking in the Appalachian region have not provided sufficient avenues for citizen participation.

Judicial processes have been an essential aspect of fundamental reform as Caudill has long argued and as McGraw attests. Clearly, more active participation could be encouraged without unduly sacrificing either economic or social efficiency. The forum called attention to the process of active participation as the primary goal, with efficiency and levels of output as secondary goals. All institutions should be drawn into this process.

In summary, one should not rule out a role for a "regional consciousness" facilitating exploration of certain issues on a regional level. However, the decline in the federal government's role in the region, the consequent increase in the importance of individual states, and the strong sense of local citizen activism suggest that a regional consciousness is not a necessary ingredient for successful development and, indeed, it could serve to divert attention from resolution of important state and local problems.

APPALACHIA - LOOKING TOWARD ITS FUTURE

Given the trends identified as a result of analysis of the two Appalachian forums, what might we suggest about the perceived ability of the region to respond to future changes. In short, evidence seems to suggest that the road will not be easy, but that progress can be expected.

As expressed by many at the second forum, Appalachia is in for a challenging period in the next several years. It must get along without the massive injections of federal dollars so crucial in the past. Rev. John McBride described the current time as a disaster - a flood that swept through overnight and left us homeless. Ike Adams continues the analogy and suggests the resiliency required of Appalachian people. "We've got to stop building back in the flood plain. We're going to have to take this disaster and instead of anticipating another flood and expecting things to work out and pray that there won't be another one, we've got to move to higher ground."

Although times are not easy for people involved with community development, a new sense of activism was expressed at the 1981 forum that demands and attains, to some degree, participation in the decisionmaking processes influencing the

region. Such resiliency can be expected to continue as Appalachian people face the challenges of the 1980s and become more intimately involved in the meaningful affairs of the region. This reality was foreseen by Thomas Ford twenty years ago when he observed that the way of life, beliefs, fears, and aspirations of Appalachians are not radically different from those of most other Americans.²¹ Perhaps it is a desire for a more truly democratic process that is being reflected in the region and in the broader society. We anticipate the third Appalachian forum with optimism that further strides by the people toward regaining control of the destiny of the region will have been made.

Notes

¹C. L. Cleland, "Human Values: Their Origin and Influence," *Appalachia Looks at its Future, Proceedings of a Regional Forum*, Department of Agricultural Economics, VPI & SU, August 1978, 65-73. (Hereafter referred to as Proceedings.)

²Betty P. Crickard, "Roles for Women in Creative Partnerships in Appalachian Development," paper presented at the (Second) Forum on the Future of Appalachia, Lincoln Memorial Univ. (LMU), Harrogate, Tennessee, July 14-16, 1981.

³Tom Plaut, "Resistance, Rebellion, and Repression," *Proceedings, op. cit.*, 1-11.

⁴Dean Hill Rivkin, "The Constitutional Setting in Appalachia: Of Scapegoats and Caricatures," *Proceedings, op. cit.*, 21-30.

⁵Marie Cirillo, "Service Development By and For Citizens," *Proceedings, op. cit.*, 50-64.

⁶Curtis Seltzer, "Two Conclusions about Cows and Some Thoughts About Appalachian Economics," *Proceedings, op. cit.*, p. 12-20.

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸John Gibbons, "The Energy Industry: Coal and Its Competition," *Proceedings*, pp. 31-36.

⁹Rick Simon, "Coal and Economic Development in the Southern Appalachian Mountains." Paper presented at the (Second) Forum on the Future of Appalachia, LMU, July 14-16, 1981.

¹⁰Seltzer, *op. cit.*

¹¹O. Norman Simpkins, "Pride: The Cultural Touchstone of Development," *Proceedings*, pp. 100-107.

¹²Joan Ross, tape recorded talk at The (Second) Forum on the Future of Appalachia, *op. cit.*

¹³Ike Adams, tape recorded talk at The (Second) Forum on the Future of Appalachia, *op. cit.*

¹⁴Tom Miller, "Who Owns West Virginia?", *Proceedings*, pp. 37-49.

¹⁵Peggy Mathews, "Problems in the Fundamental Laws: SOCM's Role in Legal Reforms." Presentation made at the (Second) Forum on the Future of Appalachia, LMU, 1981.

¹⁶John Gaventa, tape recorded talk at The (Second) Forum on The Future of Appalachia, *op. cit.*

¹⁷Mike Maloney, tape recorded talk at The (Second) Forum on the Future of Appalachia, *op. cit.*

¹⁸Mary Margaret Pignone, tape recorded talk at The (Second) Forum on the Future of Appalachia, *op. cit.*

¹⁹Betty P. Crickard, *op. cit.*, 12.

²⁰Mary Margaret Pignone, *op. cit.*

²¹Thomas R. Ford, Editor, *The Southern Appalachian Region*, University of Kentucky Press, Lexington, Kentucky, 1962.

*Research Associate and Associate Professor, respectively, in the Department of Agricultural Economics, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. The authors wish to acknowledge helpful comments by J. Paxton Marshall, who was the principal organizer of both forums.

******Both conferences were organized by the Cooperative Extension Services of the five states, the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) and the Commission on Religion in Appalachia. Thus, a regional perspective on both values and important issues was afforded. The structure of each conference was planned by a committee made up of representatives of the sponsoring organizations. Deaton was a member of the planning committee for both forums. Markley assisted with the organization of the second forum.

*A follow-up workshop held several months later in southwest Virginia provided strong support for this general observation. The general view expressed by a diverse audience was that times have changed, that possibilities exist for creative partnership among diverse interests, and that examples abound of general improvement in life opportunities in the Region.

*Emphasis on state identity was an objective of the organizing committee. Follow-up workshops in each state have occurred since the 1981 forum, a desired outcome of conference organizers.

This page intentionally left blank

Urban Minorities

This page intentionally left blank

Introduction

Ronald Eller

In recent years regional scholars have focused considerable attention on the experience of Appalachian migrants. Between 1945 and 1965, over three million mountaineers left Appalachia to find employment in the expanding industrial centers of the east and mid-west. Much of the emergence of the "consumer culture" in America during the post-war years was made possible because of the availability of a cheap and abundant mountain labor supply. The trek to Detroit, Chicago, Cincinnati, Atlanta, and other urban centers became an inseparable part of the mountain experience and helped to draw national attention to the social and economic problems of the region. Early studies of Appalachian migrants - based upon the perceptions of urban social workers and journalists -emphasized the difficulties which mountaineers had in assimilating to urban life. Lamenting the social and economic "costs" of the migrants to the urban areas, these studies concentrated on the adjustment problems of migrants as reflected in the schools, social services and the job market. More recent research, however, has begun to revise this picture somewhat and to emphasize the diversity of experiences within the urban Appalachian community, pointing out that a large element of the migrant population succeeded in assimilating into urban life and has become a significant "invisible minority."*

Most of the research on Appalachian migrants has focused on the occupational and employment experiences of white males. Like much of the literature in Appalachian studies, little attention has been given to women, blacks, and other minorities from the region. The two essays which follow break with prior research and shed considerable light on the experiences of two minorities within the larger Appalachian minority community. Virginia McCoy Watkins and Diana Gullett Trevino focus on the occupational and employment status of Appalachian females in Cincinnati. Their findings reveal that recent female Appalachian migrants were not disadvantaged in terms of occupation and employment status. Indeed, they find that their occupational status was more favorable than that of the receiving population, and that the most dramatic difference was a disproportionate concentration of Appalachians in professional positions as compared to the receiving population. Their analysis reveals that this difference in occupational status could not be accounted for by age, but was due to occupational selectivity of migration. While the rate of unemployment among Appalachians was higher, they suggest, Appalachian females do not differ from other types of female migrants in terms of occupational and employment status. Watkins and Trevino

conclude that while it may be true that Appalachian background constitutes a liability in the economic domain for males, there is no evidence to suggest that it constitutes a liability for Appalachian females.

In the second essay, Phillip Obermiller and William Philliber analyze the relative socioeconomic attainments of black Appalachian migrants. Basing their research on data from three surveys conducted in Hamilton County (Cincinnati), Ohio, Obermiller and Philliber find that black Appalachian migrants have much more in common with other blacks than with white migrants from the mountains. While white Appalachian migrants may be distinguished from other whites, black Appalachian migrants do not have socioeconomic attainments different from other blacks. In terms of education, occupation, and income, the relative attainments of both black groups are about half the attainment of non-Appalachian whites. Blacks from Appalachia, they suggest, move to black neighborhoods where they are identified with and as blacks rather than as Appalachians. Accordingly, they experience the same life chances as other blacks. Their socioeconomic attainments, therefore, are restricted primarily by race rather than by ethnic or regional origin. Like Watkins and Trevino, Obermiller and Philliber conclude that much further research needs to be focused on minority groups within the mountains before the experience of urban Appalachian minorities can be more fully understood.

Black Appalachian Migrants: The Issue Of Dual Minority Status

*William W. Philliber
Phillip J. Obermiller*

A greater proportion of blacks moved out of Appalachia during the great migration of the fifties and sixties than did whites, reducing the percentage of blacks in Appalachia to 7.3% of the population by 1970 (Appalachian Regional Commission, 1971). As a result of this selectivity blacks are more common among Appalachian migrants than among those who remained in the region. An estimated one out of five Appalachians living in Hamilton County, Ohio, for example, are black. While studies were being conducted among Appalachian migrants who were white, black migrants were either excluded from the analysis or grouped with other blacks. Too few Appalachian blacks were found in any single survey to analyze as a separate category, and researchers feared combining blacks and whites together lest the importance of origin be confounded by race. Today knowledge of black Appalachian migrants lags substantially below their white counterparts (Fowler, 1980).

There are reasons to believe that black Appalachians may have little in common with white migrants. First, their origins in Appalachia were different. While most white Appalachians living in Cincinnati, for example, came from Kentucky and Tennessee (McCoy and Brown, 1981), blacks moved from Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi (Appalachian Regional Commission, 1971; Fowler, 1976). Appalachia is not a single cultural entity and migrants from different parts of the region may be as different as Appalachians and non-Appalachians. Second, within the same part of the region black Appalachians have usually lived isolated from whites (Allen, 1974; French, 1975; Cabbell, 1980). As with the rest of the nation, blacks were excluded from the mainstream in Appalachia. Having shared little in Appalachia, it seems doubtful black and white Appalachians found much in common after they migrated. Third, although migration brought many Appalachians—black and white—to low income neighborhoods of the city, they settled apart from each other (Fowler, 1981). Blacks from Appalachia moved to black neighborhoods where they identified with, and were identified as blacks, but perhaps not as Appalachians (Zigli, 1981).

On the other hand there are reasons to believe that Appalachia has had an influence on black migrants similar to that of whites. One of the first studies of black culture in Appalachia concluded that while blacks were isolated they nonetheless developed value systems similar to whites in the area (French, 1975). While the importance of such a value system has recently been a subject of criticism (Bill-

ings, 1974; Philliber, 1981) any influence it has upon the life chances of white migrants should also then be true of blacks. The only research which has analyzed black Appalachians as a separate category supports that conclusion. Fowler's (Reeves, 1976; Fowler, 1981) study of residential distribution found that both black and white Appalachians were more likely than their non-Appalachian counterparts to live in low-income areas of the city.

Whether blacks from Appalachia integrated into the local black community where they migrated or remained distinct because of their Appalachian heritage in the same manner as white migrants remains an unanswered question. The purpose of this paper is to provide a partial answer to that question by analyzing the socioeconomic attainments of black Appalachian migrants in Hamilton County, Ohio, relative to non-Appalachian blacks, white Appalachians, and non-Appalachian whites.

Data

Data were obtained by combining three surveys conducted in Hamilton County, Ohio. They were the 1971 Model Cities Survey (Sherrill, 1972), the 1975 Cincinnati Area Project (Philliber, 1981), and the 1980 Greater Cincinnati Survey (Obermiller, 1982). While neither methods of sampling nor measurement were the same, combining the studies produced 113 black Appalachians. That yielded a large enough group to provide a basis for at least some tentative observations.

There are four differences in the ways the three surveys were carried out which may contribute to errors in the findings here. Two of those differences are minor and two are of some consequence. First, the Greater Cincinnati Survey was conducted by telephone while the other two were collected in-person. Findings from telephone surveys are generally consistent with in-person interviews, so this difference should matter little (Tuchfarber and Klecka, 1976). Second, participants in the Model Cities Survey were selected as part of a multi-stage probability sample stratified by race; the Cincinnati Area Project used a multi-stage probability sample of blocks with quotas proportional to the population; and the Greater Cincinnati Survey selected people using Random Digit Dialing. These differences also probably matter little (Tuchfarber and Klecka, 1976; Sudman, 1966). On the other hand, the Model Cities Survey is drawn from the population living within the inner-city low-income area designated as the target for the Model Cities program while the other two studies are drawn from the population of Hamilton County. As a result, the combination of the three samples disproportionately represents people in low-income neighborhoods. Finally, the Cincinnati Area Project and the Greater Cincinnati Survey classified people as Appalachian if they were born in Appalachia or had at least one parent born there while the Model Cities Survey classified people as Appalachians if they had moved to Cincinnati directly from Appalachia. As a result the Model Cities Survey classified some persons as non-Appalachians who would otherwise be Appalachian. We have no reason to believe that any of these factors seriously altered the findings, but they should be remembered before reaching any final conclusions.

Findings

Although migrants from Appalachia generally are better educated than non-migrants who remained (Larkin, 1973), Appalachians average fewer years of education than natives and other migrants in their places of destination (Philliber, 1981). Table 1 shows that only 58% of the white Appalachians in the three studies had completed high school but 78% of other whites graduated. However, while white Appalachians are left at a competitive disadvantage to other whites, black Appalachians are not much different from other blacks. Some 38% of the black Appalachians compared to 39% of other blacks were high school graduates. Both groups are seriously less educated than whites, but their differences from each other are small.

The same pattern emerges with respect to occupational attainment among those in the labor force. White Appalachians have a lower percentage employed as white collar workers or in skilled trades than non-Appalachian whites have, 60% and 81%, respectively. Both black groups have even fewer such employees. All but 41% of the black Appalachians and 30% of other blacks are employed in semi-skilled or unskilled jobs. Although the difference between the two black groups is still small, it should be noted that what difference does exist is in favor of black Appalachians.

The pattern is repeated in family incomes. The average annual income of other whites in the three surveys was \$16,470. White Appalachians had average annual incomes of \$14,182. Both black groups were considerably poorer. The average family income of black Appalachians was \$7,742 and the income of other blacks averages \$6,719.

Table 4 summarizes relative attainments of the four groups. On each of the three variables non-Appalachian whites averaged higher achievements than other groups. A total of 78% were high school graduates, 81% had white-collar or skilled jobs, and the group averaged \$16,470 in family income. If these figures are set equal to 100%, then the relative attainments of white Appalachians are shown to be about three-quarter of the attainments of other whites. Each of the surveys used in this study have previously been analyzed to show the relative attainments of white Appalachians so these findings are not new. They are reported here only to provide a ready comparison with black Appalachians.

The data collected from black Appalachians are not entirely consistent. Black Appalachians have fewer high school graduates but better jobs and higher incomes than do other blacks. However, none of the differences within the black group are actually very large. When the attainments of either group are compared to non-Appalachian whites, both groups are shown to have half or less of what non-Appalachian whites have. Their differences from each other are trivial when compared to their differences from whites.

It should be noted that the higher socioeconomic attainments of non-Appalachian whites can not be explained by age or by length of residence. In each of the three studies no significant differences existed for either of these variables.

The explanation for the advantage of non-Appalachian whites lies in other directions.

Conclusion

The best conclusion from this study of the relative attainments of black Appalachians is that black Appalachians experience the same life chances as other blacks. They are restricted for being black, but they are not further restricted because they are Appalachian. The emergent ethnicity which is characteristic of working class and poor white Appalachians is not shared by Appalachians who are blacks. Black Appalachians seem to have become a part of the larger black group.

There are two factors which may explain why black Appalachians are not distinct from other blacks in the same way Appalachian and non-Appalachian whites are. First, ethnic group formation is partially the result of labeling and discrimination by others. White Appalachians were singled out from the general white population by stereotyping and discrimination, thereby giving impetus to the formation of a group identity (McCoy and Watkins, 1981; Obermiller, 1982). Black Appalachians were not similarly distinguished from the general black population; labeling and discrimination affected all members of that group equally, giving no momentum to the rise of a separate black Appalachian identity.

But group formation can also come from stereotyping and discrimination which is internal to the group itself (Obermiller, 1982). In this case race recedes in importance and socioeconomic stratification becomes critical. Intergroup labeling among white Appalachians in urban areas is quite negative and predominates in the higher status cohort. The absence of large differences in socioeconomic status among blacks in the county, particularly when compared to white residents, may lead to a diminution of intergroup stereotyping. This phenomenon may account for the absence of a specific Appalachian ethnicity among black Appalachians (Lewis, 1978). For both of these reasons Appalachian blacks do not appear to have emerged as a group separate from blacks who are non-Appalachian.

It is appropriate to conclude by noting that these findings reflect the paucity of research on black Appalachians. Even if better data continue to find the absence of socioeconomic differentiation between Appalachian and non-Appalachian blacks outside the region, other important differences may exist.

TABLE 1:
 Percent High School Graduates By Race And Appalachian Heritage

Race	Appalachian	Other
Black	35 % (101)	39 % (380)
White	58 % (359)	78 % (1,015)

TABLE 2:
 Percent Of Labor Force Employed In Skilled Trades Or
 White Collar Positions By Race And Appalachian Heritage

Race	Appalachian	Other
Black	41 % (54)	30 % (231)
White	60 % (248)	81 % (783)

TABLE 3:
 Average Annual Income By Race And Appalachian Heritage

Race	Appalachian	Other
Black	\$ 7,742 (98)	\$ 6,719 (403)
White	\$14,182 (366)	\$16,470 (1,017)

TABLE 4:
**Relative Attainments Of Black Appalachians, White Appalachians,
 And Other Blacks As A Percentage Of The Attainments
 Of Other Whites**

Group	Education	Job	Income
Black Appalachian	45 %	51 %	47 %
Other Black	50 %	37 %	41 %
White Appalachian	74 %	74 %	86 %
Other White	100 %	100 %	100 %

References

- Allen, Fayetta A.
 1974 "Blacks in Appalachia." *The Black Scholar*, 15 (June):42-51.
- Appalachian Regional Commission
 1971 "Blacks in Appalachia. Population Trends: 1960 to 1970." Current Statistical Report Number 4. Washington: Appalachian Regional Commission.
- Billings, Dwight
 1974 "Culture and Poverty in Appalachia: A Theoretical Discussion and Empirical Analysis." *Social Forces*, 53 (December):315-23.
- Cabbell, Edward J.
 1980 "Black Invisibility and Racism in Appalachia: An Informal Survey." *Appalachian Journal*, 8 (Autumn):48-54.
- Fowler, Gary
 1976 "Regional Mobility Among People in Central Cincinnati." *Urban Appalachian Council Research Bulletin* (May):1-3.
 1980 *Appalachian Migration: A Review and Assessment of the Research*. Washington: Appalachian Regional Commission.
 1981 "The Residential Distribution of Urban Appalachians." pp. 79-94 in William W. Philliber and Clyde B. McCoy (eds.) *The Invisible Minority*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky.
- French, Laurence
 1975 "The Isolated Appalachian Black Community." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Rural Sociological Society. San Francisco. (August).

- Larkin, Robert Paul**
1973 Out-migration from Altoona, Pennsylvania: Mobility Response to Changing Opportunities. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. Pennsylvania State University.
- Lewis, Michael**
1978 The Culture of Inequality. New York: Meridian Books. McCoy, Clyde B. and James S. Brown.
- 1981 "Appalachian Migration to Midwestern Cities." pp. 35-78 in William W. Philliber and Clyde B. McCoy (eds.) The Invisible Minority. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky.
- Obermiller, Phillip J.**
1982 Labelling Urban Appalachians: Bridges and Barriers to the Formation of a Contemporary Ethnic Identity. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Union Graduate School.
- Philliber, William W.**
1981 Appalachian Migrants in Urban America. New York: Praeger.
- Reeves, David**
1976 "Black Appalachians in the City." Mountain Life and Work, 52 (August):18-19.
- Sherrill, Samuel B.**
1972 Cincinnati Model Neighborhood Survey: A Statement of Research Objectives and Methodology. Cincinnati: Institute for Metropolitan Studies, University of Cincinnati.
- Sudman, Seymour**
1966 "Probability Sampling with Quotas." Journal of the American Statistical Association, 61 (September):49-71.
- Tuchfarber, Alfred and William Klecka**
1976 Random Digit Dialing. Washington: Urban Institute.
- Zigli, Barbara**
1981 "Appalachian Blacks—the 'Double Minority' " Cincinnati Enquirer, (May 5), p. A-6.

Occupational And Employment Status Of Appalachian Migrant Women

*Virginia McCoy Watkins
Diana Gullett Trevino*

INTRODUCTION

The social science literature has portrayed Appalachian migrants as a disadvantaged group. The problems they have experienced in adjusting to the urban environment range from high school drop out rates (Maloney, 1974) and low levels of educational attainment (Philliber, 1981b) to cultural conflicts (McCoy, 1981) and low occupational attainment (Schwarzeweller, 1971).

The current study focuses on the occupational and employment status of recent Appalachian migrant women. The scarcity of migration research on women has left an enormous gap in explaining the consequences of migration for them. Their contributions in the economic domain have been particularly neglected.¹

There have been, however, a number of studies on males. The Appalachian migration research indicates that migration takes place for economic reasons—to obtain a job or to obtain a better job. Generally, jobs are located through the help of relatives and friends rather than through employment agencies (Schwarzeweller, 1981). Male migrants generally hold a greater proportion of semiskilled or unskilled jobs, but few hold professional jobs. Their occupational status was found to be lower than other migrants and natives, but higher than those in the area of origin (Philliber, 1981b; Schwarzeweller, 1971). Appalachian migrants in suburban Cleveland were more likely than return migrants, West Virginia natives or ghetto migrants to hold skilled jobs; those in the ghetto were more likely to hold semiskilled jobs. The few professional workers in the Cleveland study tended either to be return migrants (to West Virginia) or to live in areas where there were few other Appalachians (Photiadis, 1981). It has also been noted that Appalachian occupational mobility provided less increase in income than for white natives, blacks, or other white migrants (Philliber, 1981b).

Prior research has shown that Appalachians are placed at a disadvantage in the economic domain. This research has been almost exclusively on males or the combined male/female population; this exclusion has obscured or ignored the contribution of females.

One study found that Appalachian females did not migrate alone. They left the mountains with their husbands or parents, or joined family members upon their

arrival in the city (Schwarzeweller, 1971). Only two studies mention the economic situation of women. Schwarzeweller and Brown found that almost one-third of the women migrants in the Beech Creek study were employed; however, almost two-thirds of them were in semiskilled positions. Philliber found that 31 percent of Appalachians in the Hamilton County, Ohio study area were in families in which the wife worked outside the home. In addition, the wife's employment created less of an advantage toward improvement in family income than did either natives, other white migrants or blacks. These Appalachian women, as in the Beech Creek study, had few skills which would facilitate obtaining higher wages (Philliber, 1981b).

Based on general notions of Appalachian background and their lower status in the employment and the occupational hierarchy relative to the receiving population, we anticipated that findings with respect to females in the economic domain would mirror that of males. That is, that Appalachian women would be at a competitive disadvantage compared with the receiving population. These inclinations were in error.

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

The results of this analysis focus on the occupational and employment status of recent female migrants from Appalachia to the Cincinnati SMSA. While a number of studies have been made of males, little research exists on females in the economic domain. This exploratory study of recent Appalachian female migrants is based principally on a special tabulation of 1970 Census data which distinguished recent migrants from Appalachia and the receiving population in the Cincinnati SMSA.² Appalachian migrants are those who, in 1965, lived in any of the 397 counties and five independent cities defined as the Appalachian Region, and in 1970 lived in the Cincinnati SMSA. All others in the receiving area were defined as non-Appalachians.

Table 1 shows that Appalachian females (and non-Appalachian females) followed the traditional pattern of female occupational distribution in that they were concentrated in traditional "female labor market sector positions" (O'Brien, 1970). These include clerical (sales clerks), service worker (hairdressers, waitresses) and professional (teachers, nurses) occupation categories. Within this dual labor market structure, a striking difference appears, however. A disproportionate concentration of Appalachians (26.4 %) held professional positions as compared with non-Appalachians (14.9 %). This difference remained when comparing the counties within the SMSA as well (data not presented).³ On the other hand, the occupational distribution showed that Appalachians held proportionately fewer sales (3.9 %) and clerical (30.0 %) positions than non-Appalachians.

The plausible reasons for this difference between Appalachian and non-Appalachian females in the professional category could be attributed to dif-

ferences in the age distribution of migrants, in the occupational selectivity of professionals associated with migration, or in the disadvantage associated with Appalachian background. This section will explore these explanations in order.

As one would expect for recent migrants (Bogue, 1969), Appalachian migrant females are younger than non-Appalachians. For those who were 15 years of age and over, and most likely to participate in the labor market, 65 percent of the Appalachians were between the ages of 15 and 29 years, compared with 32 percent of non-Appalachians (Table 2). The older age groups (40-64) favored non-Appalachians (36.8%); whereas only 15.5% of the Appalachians fell into this age group. This inverse relationship between age and migration status has been documented in prior literature (Taeuber, 1967).

Since occupation by age distribution was not available in the special tabulation on Appalachian migrants data set, it was not possible to directly control for age. In order to explore the hypothesis that the concentration of young women in the professional category produced the disproportionate concentration of Appalachians in that category, age standardization for the occupational distribution was calculated utilizing the U.S. occupational distribution by age⁴ (see Table 3). This procedure showed essentially no change in the difference between Appalachians and non-Appalachians in the professional category. Appalachians comprised 15.6% and non-Appalachians 15.0% in that category. Sales positions in which non-Appalachians predominated, were also found to produce no change in the differences observed between the two groups—7.1% for Appalachians and 8.1% for non-Appalachians. Age distribution probably accounts for differences between Appalachians and non-Appalachians in the clerical positions. The most important finding is that there is no evidence that age differences between Appalachians and non-Appalachians account for the disproportionate concentration of Appalachians in the professional category.

The second plausible explanation raised was whether the difference in the professional category was due to the occupational selectivity of professionals among migrants and non-migrants. The tabulations appear in Table 4. This hypothesis was explored using Public Use Sample data⁵ on aggregated migrants and non-migrants. We can see clearly that a greater proportion of migrants (22.8%) than non-migrants (13.8%) held professional positions. Referring back to Table I, one can see that the difference in the proportion of professionals between Appalachians and non-Appalachians parallels the difference in proportion of professionals between migrants and non-migrants. This strongly suggests that the occupational selectivity of professionals among migrants accounts for the difference between Appalachian and non-Appalachian professionals.

This finding supports the interpretation that the disproportionate concentration of Appalachians in the professional category as compared to the receiving population is not accounted for by age, but rather was due to occupational selectivity of migration.

In addition to the occupational status, another frequently used measure of competitive posture in the economic domain is unemployment. We examined the

employment status of Appalachian migrant and non-Appalachian women. While a greater proportion of Appalachians than the receiving population were in the labor force, there was a wide gap in unemployment between Appalachians (8.6%) and non-Appalachians (4.6%) (see Table 5). Procedures were conducted similar to those conducted for the occupational distribution to explore the influence of age and migrant status on the difference between Appalachian and non-Appalachian unemployment. When we standardized employment status for age (Table 6), this gap in unemployment narrowed considerably, showing 6.3% Appalachians unemployed and 5.4% non-Appalachians unemployed. This finding suggests that the largest portion of the difference in the unemployment rate can be attributed to age difference between Appalachians and non-Appalachians, potentially corresponding to the age selectivity of migration. The national data showed (Table 7) that only slightly more migrants than non-migrants were unemployed, 4.3% for migrants and 3.6% for non-migrants. These results suggest that the higher rate of unemployment for Appalachian women was due primarily to the age selectivity of migration and secondarily to the slight correspondence between unemployment and migration.

In summary, we found no evidence to suggest that recent Appalachian female migrants are disadvantaged in the economic domain by their Appalachian background. In general, Appalachians were of higher occupational status than non-Appalachians. Analysis suggests that the difference is due to the occupational selectivity of migration that occurs among females. The higher unemployment rate among Appalachians as compared to non-Appalachians seems primarily due to the difference in the age composition between the two groups. There was also evidence of some slight influence due to the association of employment status and migration among females. Therefore, while prior literature found that Appalachian background constituted a liability in the economic domain for males, there was no evidence to suggest that it constituted a liability for Appalachian females.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

There are several explanations to be explored for the finding that Appalachian background in this study does not constitute a liability for Appalachian migrant females. The first of these considers the definition of Appalachians used in this study. Appalachian migrants are defined as those who lived in the Appalachian Region between 1965 and 1970 and in 1970 lived in the Cincinnati SMSA. Therefore, the Appalachian migrants category does not necessarily include only those who were born in the region; that is, those of Appalachian background. It is purely a recent migrant designation, which excludes Appalachians who migrated to the Cincinnati SMSA in an earlier period. The non-Appalachian migrant category includes all other recent migrants (from someplace other than Appalachia), natives, as well as Appalachians who migrated to and stayed in the

Cincinnati SMSA in earlier periods. This confounding of the categories might underestimate the difference between Appalachian and non-Appalachian professionals since both categories include some Appalachians. In addition, the Appalachian migrant professional category may include very mobile professionals who are not Appalachians, but who moved in the Appalachian Region, were residing there in 1965, and migrated out to be found in Cincinnati in 1970. Some in the Appalachian migrant category, therefore, may not be of Appalachian background at all.

Definitions of Appalachians in other studies have varied from migrants from one Appalachian state (West Virginia), migrants from one Appalachian county (Clay County, Kentucky) to migrants who moved from the Appalachian Region and those who were born in the Appalachian Region or had one parent born in the Appalachian Region. Settlement areas of the migrants in these studies have been diverse as well—the inner city of Cincinnati, Ohio, suburbs of Cleveland, Ohio, Hamilton County, Ohio, and several counties in the Cincinnati SMSA, which include northern Kentucky and one Indiana county.

Even though the definitions of Appalachians varied somewhat from study to study, the findings on males are consistent. For males, the occupational status was lower than for other groups, either other migrants or natives (Philliber, 1981a, 1981b; Photiadis, 1981; Schwarzweller, 1971, 1981). They were concentrated in unskilled and semiskilled jobs; few held professional positions. In addition, Appalachians were found to receive the lowest increase in income attainment for concomitant increases in occupational status (Philliber, 1981b).

The literature on Appalachian employment status indicates that, in general, Appalachians are able to find jobs, and are willing to take lower status jobs. Studies showed that Appalachian heads of households in Hamilton County in 1975 were employed at a rate similar to other white migrants and white natives. Only six percent of the Appalachians and five percent of the white migrants and natives were unemployed (Philliber, 1981b). A 1961 study, with similar results, found that most males were employed (Schwarzweller, 1971). Photiadis' (1981) study of Appalachians in Cleveland found somewhat higher proportions of unemployed and retired for migrants in the ghetto (9%) than in the suburbs; however, West Virginia natives and return migrants had the highest unemployment of these four groups. Similarly, Maloney (1981) indicates a ten percent unemployment rate for inner city Appalachian neighborhoods in Cincinnati. There is apparently a period of rather high instability in employment among recent Appalachian migrants during the first year or so after migration. However, stability improves once the migrant gains some confidence in the industrial work setting (Schwarzweller, 1971).

We analyzed the occupational and employment status of Appalachian migrant males and compared them with the receiving population, using the special tabulation data set. This analysis showed that, like females, Appalachian males were more heavily concentrated in the professional category. However, when we controlled for age using the age standardization procedure, it was found that age not

only accounted for the difference between Appalachian and non-Appalachian males, but the direction changed to favor non-Appalachians. This finding, using the same data set for males and females, supports the prior literature on males; that Appalachian males suffer economic disadvantage compared to the receiving population.

The few earlier studies which made statements about females in the labor market indicated that they had few skills and were employed in low status jobs. A 1961 study indicated that while a good number of the women (32%) were employed, only a very small proportion held professional and clerical positions. Most of those employed (67%) were in unskilled or semiskilled jobs (Schwarz-weller, 1971). On the other hand, a 1974 study found that fewer Appalachian women than other white migrants, white natives or blacks were in dual worker families. Only 31% of Appalachians were in family situations of this type, whereas 46-51% of the other groups were in dual worker families. The contribu-tion of the wife's employment to the total family income was less in Appalachian families than in those of other white migrants, white natives or blacks. Ap-palachian wives who worked outside the home had few skills which would enable them to make a greater contribution in wages to the family income (Philliber, 1981b). While both studies found that Appalachian women who were employed had few job skills, the findings are inconsistent in terms of the proportion employed. One cannot obtain a clear picture of the occupational or employment status of Appalachian migrant women from prior studies. However, these findings on women seem to indicate that Appalachian women and Appalachian men are placed at a disadvantage in the job market, unlike the findings in our study for women.

Explanations for the disadvantage experienced by Appalachian males in the economic domain and the lack of this liability for Appalachian females could not be determined in our study. This difference could possibly be due to the higher educational attainment of females. The literature indicates that male educational achievement is low (Schwarz-weller, 1981; Photiadis, 1981; Philliber, 1981a) and this could contribute to low occupational status. Another study, however, also in-dicated that additional education did not improve the economic situation of Ap-palachians (Peterson and Sharp, 1969). In addition, nothing in the literature in-dicates whether female educational achievements are greater than for males. One might suppose that males left school to take available unskilled jobs which re-quired little education in the home area. Females remained in school to continue their education and await the availability of jobs.

Another possibility is that, for whatever reasons, Appalachian women are bet-ter able to compete in the urban job market. Even though the dual occupational structure has restricted Appalachian women to the female labor market sector positions, as it has non-Appalachian women, Appalachian women may be better prepared to compete with other women within these restrictions. Appalachian males have been found ill-prepared to compete in the urban labor market. Many had experience as coal miners or farmers which did not prepare them for competi-

tion in the industrial work situations in the receiving areas (Schwarzeweller, 1971; Philliber, 1981b). Appalachian women were probably trained to do jobs traditionally perceived as "woman's work"—teachers, nurses and secretaries. This training has apparently paid off for them and has enabled them to compete in the urban job market where female labor market jobs are the norm. To suppose that Appalachian women have better competitive skills than men, however, runs counter to findings that Appalachians have difficulty competing in the urban schools (Wagner, 1974).

In conclusion, these findings, as they relate to those in prior work, suggest the need for more research focusing on the occupational and employment achievement of Appalachian migrant females. For example, the changing economy necessitates dual worker families and challenges traditional roles of Appalachian migrant women. Research in the social sciences has traditionally delayed study of minorities and women until the size of the group reaches sufficient proportions to warrant study or until their political activities force attention to certain issues for the group.

We are hopeful that the apparent inconsistency between this work and the other studies stimulates efforts at further research. This research should focus specifically at determining the consequences of migration for Appalachian migrant females.

Table 1
Female Occupation Status, Cincinnati SMSA 1970

Occupation	Appalachian		Non-Appalachian	
	No.	%	No.	%
Professionals	824	26.4	28,656	14.9
Managers	63	2.0	5,709	3.0
Sales	122	3.9	15,721	8.2
Clerical	934	30.0	72,382	37.8
Craftsmen	29	0.9	3,585	1.9
Operatives	493	15.8	22,790	11.9
Transport	12	0.4	819	0.4
Laborers	62	2.0	1,866	1.0
Farmworkers	0	15.6	464	0.2
Service Workers	486	15.6	32,865	17.1
Private Household	91	2.9	6,856	3.6
Total Females Employed	3,116		191,713	

Table 2
Female Age Distribution, Cincinnati SMSA 1970

Age Groups (in years)	Appalachian		Non-Appalachian	
	No.	%	No.	%
15 - 19	1,235	16.0	63,076	12.4
20 - 24	2,608	33.9	53,479	10.5
25 - 29	1,156	15.0	45,158	8.9
30 - 34	560	7.3	40,310	7.9
35 - 39	469	6.1	39,201	7.7
40 - 44	297	3.9	41,891	8.2
45 - 54	514	6.7	79,704	15.6
55 - 64	377	4.9	66,193	13.0
65 - 74	215	2.8	47,291	9.3
75 and over	264	3.4	33,073	6.5
Total Females	7,695		509,376	

Table 3
Age Standardization Of Female Occupation Status 1970

Occupation	Appalachian		Non-Appalachian	
	%		%	
Professionals	15.6		15.0	
Managers	2.6		3.8	
Sales	7.1		8.1	
Clerical	38.7		33.5	
Craftsmen	2.3		1.8	
Operatives	12.0		13.2	
Transport	0.4		0.4	
Laborers	1.0		1.0	
Farmworkers	0.7		0.9	
Service Workers	16.4		17.2	
Private Household	3.3		5.1	

Source: 1970 U.S. Bureau of the Census. Census of Population: 1970 Detailed Characteristics. Final Report PC(1)-D1, U.S. Summary

Table 4
Occupation Status By Migrant Status Of Females 1970

Occupation	Migrant	Non-Migrant
	%	%
Professionals	22.8	13.8
Managers	3.2	3.3
Sales	7.7	7.9
Clerical	36.1	33.5
Craftsmen	1.5	1.8
Operatives	9.8	16.2
Transport	0.2	0.4
Laborers	0.7	1.0
Farmworkers	0.6	1.2
Service Workers	15.5	16.7
Private Household	1.8	4.2

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1970 Public Use Sample

Table 5
Female Employment Status, Cincinnati SMSA 1970

Employment Status	Appalachian		Non-Appalachian	
	No.	%	No.	%
Labor Force	3116	43.1*	191,740	39.4*
Employed	3116	91.4**	191,713	95.4**
Unemployed	294	8.6**	9,303	4.6**

*No. in labor force as a percent of females, 14 years old and over.

**No. employed (and unemployed) as a percent of the female civilian labor force.

Table 6
Age Standardization Of Female Employment Status

Employment Status	Appalachian	Non-Appalachian
Percent in labor force	45.9	41.0
Percent Employed	93.7	94.6
Percent Unemployed	6.3	5.4

Source: 1970 U.S. Bureau of the Census. Census of Population: 1970 Detailed Characteristics. Final Report PC(1)-D1, U.S. Summary.

Table 7
Employment Status By Migrant Status Of Females

Employment Status	Migrant	Non-Migrant
	%	%
Employed	95.7	96.4
Unemployed	4.3	3.6

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1970 Public Use Sample

Footnotes

¹We gratefully acknowledge the guidance and assistance of Professor P. Neal Ritchey, University of Cincinnati.

²The data set is the property of the Urban Appalachian Council. We acknowledge their generosity in providing us with the computer tape. Roger Steubing, Behavioral Sciences Laboratory, University of Cincinnati, was most helpful in providing assistance with the documentation of the tape and generating data.

³The tract data provided in the Special Tabulation of 1970 Census data produced many cells which contained zeros or were based on only a few sample cases. Therefore, to reduce the lowest variability, small cells were combined into the largest analytical units for analysis.

⁴Age standardization was calculated using the direct method. The U.S. population provided age groups beginning with age 15, whereas the special tabulation began with age 16. This discrepancy caused a slight distortion in the totals; however, adjustments were made in calculating the percentages.

⁵The Public Use Sample Data (U.S. Census, 1970) available to us provided only age groups 20 and over, whereas the Appalachian data set provided a younger age group; 16 years and over for occupation and employment status. Since the younger age groups have little influence on either of these variables, the effect is probably minimal.

References

- Bogue, D.J. 1969. *Principles of Demography*. New York: Wiley.
- Maloney, M.E. 1974. The Prospects for Urban Appalachians. In *The Invisible Minority: Urban Appalachians*, ed. W.W. Philliber and C.B. McCoy. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.
- McCoy, C.B. and V.M. Watkins, 1981. Appalachian Youth in Cultural Transition. In *Proceedings of the 1980 Appalachian Studies Conference: Appalachia/America*. Washington: Appalachian Regional Commission.
- O'Brien, P.J., 1979. The American Dual Occupational Structure As An Influence on the Sex Differential in Migration. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Cincinnati.
- Philliber, W.W. 1981a. Accounting for the Occupational Placements of Appalachian Migrants. In *The Invisible Minority: Urban Appalachians*, ed. W.W. Philliber and C.B. McCoy. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.
- Philliber, W.W. 1981b. *Appalachian Migrants in Urban Areas*. New York: Praeger.
- Photiadis, J.D. 1981. Occupational Adjustment of Appalachians in Cleveland. In *The Invisible Minority: Urban Appalachians*, ed. W.W. Philliber and C.B. McCoy. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.
- Schwarzeweller, H.E., J.S. Brown, J.J. Mangalam, 1971. *Mountain Families in Transition*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Schwarzeweller, H.E. 1981. Occupational Patterns of Appalachian Migrants. In *The Invisible Minority: Urban Appalachians*, ed. W.W. Philliber and C.B. McCoy. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.
- Taeuber, K.E. 1967. The Residential Distribution of Farm-Born Cohorts, *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 32.
- Wagner, T.E. 1974. *Urban Appalachian School Children: The Least Understood of All*. Cincinnati: Urban Appalachian Council Working Paper.

Language And Literature Of The Appalachian Region

This page intentionally left blank

Introduction

Grace Toney Edwards

In a collection of critical essays devoted to present and future issues in the Appalachian region, a pair of literary critiques gives us reason to pause and reflect for a moment on what literature is and what its place is in an anthology of this sort. As Jim Wayne Miller aptly says in *I Have a Place*: “Life is one thing; literature is another. They are not the same, but they are related. First there’s life, then literature, in the same way that there’s marble in a mountain before a sculptor makes it into a statue. Literature is made from the raw material of life” (p. IX). That raw material occupies the attention of most of the authors in this collection. However, for those who choose to look beyond the raw material, the artist’s creation offers another perspective, oftentimes an enriched and heightened perspective that somehow comes clear only through the made structure. A piece of literature is such a structure and can serve to focus the reader’s vision on a significant contemporary issue or concept that he might have ignored without the artistic stimulus. In Miller’s words again: “Literature can make familiar things seem new, and new things seem familiar. The poem or story we read is not the thing we see finally; the poem or story is more like a light we see by, and what we see is life or some part of life” (p. IX).

Harold Branam, in his essay on Jim Wayne Miller’s poetry collection entitled *Dialogue with a Dead Man*, affirms the connection between life and literature. He sees the book as a “gradual coming together of personal and socio-political concerns” in the author’s mind, depicted by a movement from “the specific to the general, from the personal to the universal.” The collection first offers “poems about the poet’s grandfather, whose death was the subject Miller returned to, and ends with poems about other relatives and friends, living and dead, who, by extension, suggest all of Appalachian society.”

The dominant theme illuminated by Branam is the poet’s awareness of continuity amid change. Despite the changes caused by loss through death, the dead continue to live—in the poet’s memories, in the ongoing generations, in the poet himself. Awareness of and receptivity to the living dead provide a powerful consolation for the poet’s “sense of change and cultural loss in Appalachia.” Branam makes the leap from literature to life as he theorizes on the implications of this theme:

Amid the tide of change sweeping over Appalachia, leading some of us to survey the past with tears and the future with fears, perhaps there is more continuity than we first see. We should seek out this continuity: through informing ourselves with a sense of our past, we stand a better chance of knowing who we are and owning our futures.

For his analysis Parks Lanier plucks a novel from the past written by an adopted son of Appalachia. Sherwood Anderson's *Kit Brandon* is not less timely for its setting in the 1920's; indeed, Lanier moves it into the present with his comparison to William Styron's *Sophie's Choice*. Both are stories of women—one, a native Appalachian who grew up during the Prohibition era in the mountains and mill towns of Tennessee and the Carolinas; the other, a Polish refugee whose past encompasses the horrors of Auschwitz.

For both women the large drama being enacted in their lives is a contest between good and evil. In Sophie's case, woman as victim of evil forces is historically and culturally authenticated. In Kit's case, however, woman becomes the victimizer, though never totally separated from the victim's role either. Kit is indeed the exceptional woman in a culture where women, like Sophie, have traditionally been victimized, or at least, suppressed. In making her choices, Kit marshalls all the powerful strengths of self-reliance, individualism, and pride, which are the heritage of the mountain women as well as the men. She maneuvers those qualities into a pattern of action that allows her to grow ever more aggressive, to become at last a "criminal character...which lays a powerful hold on the reader's imagination." But she is not an unregenerate criminal without thought or concern for her actions. Lanier characterizes her as "a woman who excels in a man's world, does men's jobs better than men, and in doing so works toward her own redemption." Through Kit, Anderson brings "the ancient story of Eve into the future"—a future where Appalachian mountaineers, both individually and collectively, must take control of their own destinies, work out their own struggles between good and evil, just as Kit Brandon does.

What better examples can we ask than these to demonstrate the intricate link between life and literature? Through the critical analysis of literary works, we gain yet another perspective so that our angles of vision are broadened and heightened and deepened at once. The experience of looking at life through layers of artistically formed thought and craft allows us to return to the raw material, to living itself, with a renewed and strengthened will.

Generations: The Theme Of Jim Wayne Miller's *Dialogue With A Dead Man*

Harold Branam

Because the poet Jim Wayne Miller returned to the subject of his first collection, *Copperhead Cane* (1964), in his third collection, *Dialogue With a Dead Man* (1974; reprinted 1978), and even reprinted most of the earlier collection as a section of the later one, the casual reader is liable to overlook the important developments of Miller's thought in *Dialogue*—indeed, perhaps even discount *Dialogue* as a regression. Miller did return to an old subject in *Dialogue*, yes, but with new awareness. Out of this awareness came a new stage of Miller's thought which began synthesizing the personal and socio-political strands existing separately in earlier works—*Copperhead Cane* and *The More Things Change, the More They Stay the Same* (1971), respectively—and which has since borne fruit in *The Mountains Have Come Closer* (1980). Thus, for Miller, *Dialogue With a Dead Man* was a sort of crucible, a transitional work in which he found his characteristic style and subject matter.

The gradual coming together of personal and socio-political concerns in Miller's mind is suggested by the book's three-part structure, which moves outward from the specific to the general, from the personal to the universal. The book begins with poems about the poet's grandfather, whose death was the subject Miller returned to, and ends with poems about other relatives and friends, living and dead, who, by extension, suggest all of Appalachian society. There is a widening focus here that nevertheless remains anchored in the personal. That this widening focus continued for Miller is indicated by the different dedications of *Dialogue*'s two printings: the 1974 printing is dedicated to Miller's wife, and the 1978 printing is dedicated to "the people of Appalachia/wherever they are." With apologies to Mary Ellen, I might add that the second dedication strikes a characteristic note that we have since become familiar with in *The Mountains Have Come Closer*. In *Dialogue With a Dead Man*, then, Miller began using his personal experiences as the basis for writing about a whole region.

Another development we can see in *Dialogue* is a subtler awareness of change in Appalachia. In a paper at last year's conference, I argued that the death of his grandfather formed, for Miller, an archetypal pattern for change generally and change in Appalachia particularly. The poet's personal loss became a sense of cultural loss, voiced so powerfully by the Brier, an ethnic *persona* in Miller's later poetry. This sense of change as loss is, I still maintain, the dominant note in

Miller's poetry. However, in making my point last year, I perhaps overstated it. There is another side of this theme that is developed in *Dialogue With a Dead Man* and that remains, at least as an undercurrent, in Miller's later poetry. The other side is an awareness of continuity amid change, however traumatic the change might be. Miller sums up this notion as follows in "On Native Ground," a key poem in *Dialogue*:

Life grows in rings around a hurt,
a tree with barbed wire running through its heart.

Indeed, in *Dialogue With a Dead Man* continuity is represented in a characteristic Appalachian way, through the family tree, the ongoing generations—an idea that is nicely captured by the cover design for the second printing of *Dialogue*, with its montage of old family photographs.

Finally, these thematic developments in *Dialogue With a Dead Man* are accompanied by a stylistic development—movement away from traditional verse forms and rhyme, which predominated in Miller's early work, to a flexible free verse form that Miller has since remained with. It is not my purpose here to trace this development in style, but I mention it to emphasize the transitional nature of *Dialogue With a Dead Man*. Altogether, *Dialogue With a Dead Man* is a mixed bag of the old, the new, and the recycled, and it is sometimes difficult to separate these; nevertheless, the three-part structure of *Dialogue* does provide a thematic progression which gives unity to the whole work.

Part I of *Dialogue* shows us Miller's oldest treatment of his grandfather's death, the poet's first reactions. Subtitled "Copperhead Cane" and reprinted almost entirely from Miller's early collection of the same title, Part I is a series of seventeen intensely personal elegies, most in sonnet form. Although the sonnet sequence has not traditionally been put to this elegiac use, nevertheless it is a traditional form. Similarly, the sequence is conventional in theme and treatment—straight out of "Lycidas" via Appalachia. The point of the elegy/sonnet sequence is the poet's grief-stricken awareness of his overwhelming loss:

At night, my grief a traveled, polished stone,
I'll pass and disbelieve I hunt alone.

And:

I'm burning tobacco beds alone tonight
And talking to myself and to the flames.

The point is couched in distinctly pastoral terms, repeatedly showing the poet farming or hunting alone, although in actuality Miller at the time was either a graduate student or young professor.

In reprinting "Copperhead Cane," however, Miller did make some changes. Five poems are omitted from the original sequence of twenty-one elegies, and one poem is added, "Old Man All My Life." The poems left out are the poorer ones. The poem added concerns a period of time, probably near the end of his life, when the grandfather apparently lived in the home of a daughter in town.

Significantly, living in town is described as the next thing to death:

You don't know
how slyly days and nights in town foretold
this thin and soundless dream away from home.

There are also smaller changes, revisions in some of the poems that improved their clarity. But perhaps the most significant change is omission of a prominent note identifying the grandfather:

Fred Smith, farmer and foxhunter, was born in 1875 on Sandy Mush Creek in Buncombe County, North Carolina. Twice married, he had ten children, eight of whom are living. The author, one of numerous grandchildren, wrote the preceding sequence of verses after his grandfather's death in 1962.

By leaving out this note in *Dialogue With a Dead Man*, Miller universalizes his personal experience. There is recognition that the death of a grandparent has been a crucial event for many Appalachians. Miller's grandfather becomes the generic grandparent who has figured so largely in Appalachian literature from Jesse Stuart and James Still to Robert Morgan, Fred Chappell, and Mary Joan Colman.

The most important section of *Dialogue With a Dead Man* is Part II, subtitled "Dialogue With a Dead Man"—and titles are significant here. The subtitle describes not only the dialogue form that some of the poems in this section take but also the theme that the section develops. For if the point of Part I is the poet's grief-stricken awareness of his overwhelming loss, the point of Part II is the poet's grief-abating awareness, as time passes, of the grandfather's continuing presence, though dead.

Part II seems to begin much the same as Part I left off, with sad reminders of the grandfather's death and of the poet's farming and hunting alone. But if one reads carefully, one detects a different note, a note that was not entirely missing even from "Copperhead Cane." In the constant reminders of the grandfather, there are subtle signs of the grandfather's continuing presence: his paths across the fields still exist, his face seems to appear in shadows of clouds and in reflections of clouds in water, and he seems to move just out of sight with the poet through the woods. Then in the fourth poem, "Meeting," the grandfather's spirit suddenly appears:

My shadow, standing by me in the row,
waited, and while I rested, raised his hoe.

And in the next poem, "Dog's Eye," the dead man's ghost scares the poet's dog:

Shaking his ears and stretching, my dog comes
from sleeping in the shed to lick my hand.
The short hairs on his neck begin to stand;
black lips curl from meat-red gums,
from hooked fangs. He growls, stiffens, and shies
away. My face reflected in his eyes
hangs smoky on a papered wall at home,
a dead man's picture in its oval frame.

Finally the poet recognizes what even his dog has been able to see:

I can't recall when I was last alone.
You go by day unseen among the living
whose life went out with stars as day came on
and reappears, a star, as light is leaving.
Why have you followed me through this unbroken
round of days and nights and never spoken?

At this direct question, the grandfather's spirit breaks its silence, responding as follows:

I couldn't wedge a word into your grieving,
not as long as you whispered rhymes down dark
holes in the earth to a face you thought you saw
looking up with dead eyes from the ground....
For I'm not in the ground, nor the sky either.
I am a live man, walking with you,
wanting to throw a shadow into life.

In the next poem, "Vine," the grandfather continues:

I am not anything apart from you.
Except as you see, speak, and do,
I have no voice, no hand, or eye.
I have to lie
lodged in you by my own word and deed,
myself inside my seed,
damp in the dark ground of your word....

Here we have it, how it works, the basic facts of the phenomenon. The poet discovers, to his shock, that the grandfather lives on. To the poet's greater shock, the old man's spirit has become a grandfatherly dybbuk who has taken up residence in the poet himself. The grandfather lives on in the poet's memories, in the poet's attitudes and values, in the poet's genes, in the poet's very appearance. In short, the poet has become "a moving monument" to the old man.

Upon these discoveries, a back-and-forth dialogue, like a flurry of spiritualized CB conversation, breaks out. The dialogue reveals some ambivalence in the poet. On the one hand, he is proud to announce that the grandfather's spirit also lives in his poems, which the poet breaks "like mountain/newgrounds." On the other hand, the poet complains that the process of empathy and creation has been personally devastating:

—I've followed you so far down into death
I'll never find my way back to home ground.

The poet even suggests that the dead are a bit like vampires:

I think the dead lie hungry in the dark,
below the living teeming in the light.

But in "Last Words," the grandfather tells the poet, in effect, to stop complaining and accept the inevitable:

—Well, neither of us will ever be at rest
until our separate voices speak as one

and I move with you, black shadow in sun,
only as you move.

There has to be, it seems, a merging of identities, and in the following poems, since the old man stops speaking, this merging of identities appears to happen. Thus, in a sequence of events symbolically enacting the acceptance of one's cultural heritage, the poet finally realizes and accepts the fact that the old man lives on through him, the poet.

For the poet, this realization has profound consequences. One is that the poet comes out of his mourning. Another consequence is growth for the poet, growth so great that he feels his former self as a stranger. Still another consequence is the poet's springlike reawakening to life—for example, in a poem entitled “Thaw.” It is “a season of small miracles”; the poet is “restored.” Finally, the poet experiences a heightened awareness of his power and his sense of identity. After going without sleep for three days, he feels that he “will live forever.” He seems to have certain preternatural—or perhaps hallucinogenic—abilities:

I grow sighted in the dark
take long walks
aware of a light behind the life
of stones.

It is as if the merging of their identities not only enables the grandfather to live on but also extends the range of the poet's experiences, who taps into a kind of collective consciousness, as suggested in “Writing My Name”:

Maybe our name's a creature born and born,
each metamorphosis recapitulating
all its former selves as it evolves.

The poetic high induced by tapping into his roots is summed up in the last poem of the section, “On Native Ground”:

This wind is blowing me all time's weathers,
mingling near and far....O doors
are everywhere: the spring at the mountain's
foot holds the running taste of childhood,
the barking fox blurs the mountain's riddle....
I travel everywhere on native ground;
roads turning into darkness turn me home,
plunge me into cool air of the mountains....

In Part III of *Dialogue With a Dead Man*, subtitled “Family Reunion,” Miller applies the theme of Part II on a larger scale: friends and relatives are dying all over, but they never die completely. They live on in memories, in photographs, in old love letters, even in old home movies. Certain key images of the dead are indelibly printed on the minds of the living, providing a constant link to the past, like the old bee woman who moves through Miller's dreams:

And no matter where I wake—horn's beep,
ship's bells, clatter of garbage cans,
strange tongues spoken on the street below,
in a rising falling bunk out at sea,—

everywhere I stand on native ground.
The bee woman may pass through my dream:
running under a cloud of swarming bees,
she beats an empty pie pan with a spoon
till the swarm settles, black on a drooping pine bough
and guineas regroup pottericking—all
moving toward waking's waterfall.

And at certain key moments when we are receptive, the dead are like “visitors,” like “relatives coming south in summer”:

It is no wonder the dead come visiting
this morning. After last night’s storm the air
is so clear, even the mountains
have moved closer.

These lines provided the title for Miller’s next collection, *The Mountains Have Come Closer*, where, as here, Miller indicates that we must cultivate a receptivity to these visiting dead, who embody our past, our tradition.

In the final analysis, the family is made up of both the dead and the living, as stated in the title poem of Part III, “Family Reunion,” that concludes *Dialogue With a Dead Man*:

Here the living and dead mingle
like sun and shadow under old trees.

For the dead have come too,
those dark, stern departed who pose
all year in oval picture frames.

They are looking out of the eyes of children,
young sprouts
whose laughter blooms
fresh as the new flowers in the graveyard.

What we have suggested here is the outline of a living tradition, a tradition larger than any individual in it but which individuals keep alive. Through this tradition the dead live on, but, paradoxically, the living also experience a heightened sense of life, of whom they are. That’s why, in Miller’s “Brier Sermon,” the long poem that concludes *The Mountains Have Come Closer*, Miller preaches that we must be born again in the spirit of our ancestors. In *Dialogue With a Dead Man* we see Miller, somewhat like the apostle Paul, undergoing his own conversion.

Dialogue With a Dead Man, then, is more than just a return to an old subject, the death of Miller’s grandfather. Just as the death of his grandfather embodied Miller’s sense of change and cultural loss in Appalachia, so his realization that the dead continue to make their presence felt is more than just a conventional consolation for the loss of his grandfather—it is an awareness of continuity amid change. For us, the implications of *Dialogue With a Dead Man* are encouraging: amid the tide of change sweeping over Appalachia, leading some of us to survey the past with tears and the future with fears, perhaps there is more continuity than we first see. We should seek out this continuity: through informing ourselves with a sense

of our past, we stand a better chance of knowing who we are and owning our futures.

For some, I realize, the implications of *Dialogue With a Dead Man* will appear too encouraging, too optimistic. Miller will perhaps seem like my parents, who, living amid strip-mined lands, go on growing their garden. Are Miller and my parents latter-day Candides, holding on to some fragment of cultural construct when the whole has been shattered beyond recognition? Do they know what they are up against? Are they Appalachian Baucis and Philemons whom some corporate Faust is getting ready to steamroller in the name of “progress”?

On the other hand, for some, the implications of *Dialogue With a Dead Man* will seem too pessimistic. If Miller’s predominant view of change is as cultural loss, and the best he can offer us is a thread of continuity from the past, what does this say about his hope for the future? Is his poetry essentially backward-looking? Does he nowhere say that change brings improvement, something better? Is his poetry merely an expression of the pessimism, fatalism, and fearsomeness that, according to some outside commentators, we Appalachians are so prone to?

As a poet, of course, Miller is not obliged to cover all sides of an issue, but I believe his poetry does include some vision of the future. His predominant view of change as cultural loss is based, I believe, on the fact that change in Appalachia has so often come from the outside. In too many instances, change has been forced on us by people who didn’t give a damn for us and in some cases actually saw us as obstacles who had to be utterly destroyed, or forced on us by people who wanted to save us from ourselves and had to first destroy us in order to make us into something else. By and large, the process of change in Appalachia has been a continuous, obscene assault on our identity, if not our very existence. Miller’s solution to this problem lies, I believe, in our sense of identity. We must look to our past in order to regain a sense of our identity as people with a strong, proud cultural tradition; then we will have the confidence to throw the rascals out and take our future into our own hands. We must realize that we are the biggest chunks of Appalachian heritage walking around and that only through our achievements, which we must break “like mountain / newgrounds,” will the Appalachian heritage live on. Otherwise we are doomed to live other people’s dreams, to sing their songs, and to dig their coal.

(At the time of the 1982 Conference, Dr. Branam was a faculty member of Pikeville College, but he is now on leave from there and wishes to be listed as unaffiliated.)

Kit Brandon's Choice

Parks Lanier

Ten years after he settled among the beautiful mountains in the Grayson/Smyth County area of southwest Virginia, Sherwood Anderson produced his last novel, *Kit Brandon* (1936). It is the story of a girl who is native to Appalachia, a girl who leaves the mountains for the mill towns of North Carolina, and who eventually becomes a notorious blockade runner with a price on her head. More than any events in the novel which point to national social concerns, such as prohibition, unrest among textile workers, or mill town strikes, it is the individual criminal character of Kit Brandon which lays a powerful hold on the reader's imagination. Anderson admitted that the model for Kit Brandon was "a certain young woman rum-runner,"¹ and there have been at least two attempts to identify the "real" Kit Brandon.² But the fictional character has a reality far beyond any biographical fact-sheet available in a newspaper or court record.

Writing in 1962, Cratis Williams observed that *Kit Brandon* "failed to appeal to critics and the academic historians of American fiction because it [did] not fit easily into any *Mythos* created recently to encompass large samplings of American fiction."³ The isolated case of a female blockade runner here or there did not suggest any pattern to the critics. The novel's *mythos* was a thing of the future. Just recently, when I was subjected to a lengthy opinion poll on my perceptions of female criminals, Kit was much on my mind as I answered the questions, especially one which asked, "Do you believe that talk about women's liberation has made women feel freer to commit criminal acts?" That may be a profitable question for sociologists or criminologists to ask, but I think Anderson had deeper interests when he wrote *Kit Brandon* than just topics of the times, then or now. He was delving into timeless questions about the nature of good and evil, looking into the past and into the future. In this respect, his work bears closely on issues raised by a Nathaniel Hawthorne, and also by a William Styron. *Sophie's Choice* (1980) and *Kit Brandon* are novels with much in common, and by comparing these two works, one can see that Anderson's last novel may just be finding its proper place, its future, in our present.

It is interesting that the stories of Kit and Sophie are narrated by men who are professional writers, more expert with words than the women whose lives they chronicle, yet who grope desperately, sometimes unsuccessfully, to articulate those stories. These two Virginians, one, Stingo, by birth, and the other, whom critics identify as Anderson himself, by adoption, grapple at times with their own identities as they seek to convey to us a sense of a life beyond their own but inextricably entwined with theirs. Unlike Stingo, however, the narrator of *Kit Brandon* does not play a major role in her adventures. He is observer and evaluator of

the Kit who tells him her story. Kit sought him out in South Dakota, where he had gone to write a magazine article of "dust storms, whole farms buried under drifting sand and dust."⁵ As the initial setting implies, hers is another story of the buried life, and he must tell it as she told it to him.

At the beginning of *Sophie's Choice*, Stingo regales the reader with anecdotes of his life as a reader for McGraw-Hill. The narrator of *Kit Brandon* is never so hilarious, but he is equally engaged as he allows Kit to tell her story of growing up poor in the hills of East Tennessee.⁶ Her autobiography is a veritable catalog of stereotypes used in Appalachian fiction since the days of Mary Noailles Murfree. One finds, for example, the dirt floor cabin, the ill-dressed barefoot children, the slovenly wife, and the moonshiner daddy with just a hint of Melungeon about him. While Stingo on the one hand eagerly dispels the myths that draw young writers to New York, Anderson allows Kit to indulge in all the clichés of mountain life. Are we to believe Kit Brandon? The narrator says yes, for he "had lived among the mountain people out of whom Kit Brandon has come" (*KB* p. 20) and discovered that although there are literary stereotypes drawn with a broad brush (*KB* p. 28), they do appear in real life.⁷ Of that fact Kit Brandon is living proof, he says.

The first meeting of Sophie and Stingo is not so calculated as the meeting between Kit and her writer. After being fired from McGraw-Hill for flying balloons from the office windows, Stingo must find cheaper lodgings—in Brooklyn. He has, however, money from his father to support him, a legacy of money hidden during the Civil War and not found until 80 years later. In a letter containing Stingo's share of this money, Stingo's father holds forth bitterly on "the vicious monopoly capitalism that tramples the little man," and recalls how his father and grandfather were, after the Civil War, "forced out" of their small tobacco business "by those piratical devils, Washington Duke and his son, 'Buck' Duke."⁸ That Singo should be an alumnus of Duke University is no small irony to his father. It is into the world dominated by the powerful Dukes that Kit Brandon comes when she flees her mountain home for the mill towns of North Carolina. As he draws a scene with Kit and Agnes walking through the snow beneath Duke Power lights, Anderson is moved to remind us that "the states of the upper South had been made what they were, what they suddenly, in a single decade, became, by the coming of water power. Duke...the Duke fortune....Story of Duke, the old one, the wise one...what a doctor from North Carolina, practicing perhaps in New York, told him...‘Boy, go get the water power of our State. It’s a state of high mountains, cheap land, many mountain streams rushing down....They don’t see it. Go get it!’" (*KB* p. 105; ellipses are Anderson's) Thus in *Kit Brandon* as in *Sophie's Choice* the Dukes stand for the "big bugs" of industry, the ones against whom Stingo's father hurls invectives and Kit's radical mill-worker friend, Agnes, hurls a brick in order to break a window in a big bug's house and disrupt an evening dance. (*KB* p. 89) Kit, however, does not share Agnes's resentment of the rich. She envies their money, fine clothes, and fast cars, especially the fast cars. She wants to have what they have even if she cannot be what they are. This is her

choice, the one which sets the pattern for her life throughout most of the novel.

The Dukes in *Kit Brandon* are held up as the stereotypical exploiters of southern Appalachia, able to do so because the stupid highlanders “cannot see” how to capitalize on their own environment. In *Sophie’s Choice*, sub-human highlanders are ridiculed by Nathan Landau’s mimicry of “an entire southern Appalachian scenario, a kind of darkling concupiscent Dogpatch in which Pappy Yokum was transformed into an incestuous old farmer consecrated to romps with a daughter that Nathan—even medically aware—had christened Pink Eye.” (SC p. 89) Stingo, who was riled every time Nathan called him “Cracker” and slurred the South, relished the “genius” of this parody of Appalachian life, especially Nathan’s “heavenly facsimile...of some weak-witted and godforsaken wife and victim, blighted by wedlock, history and retrograde genes.” It is easy for big bugs like the Dukes to dupe such people.

The specter of the incestuous hillbilly father rises only briefly in *Kit Brandon* as Kit tells the narrator of a time when her own father commanded her to bathe with him in a mountain stream. When he began to touch and bathe her, “she grew suddenly alarmed and ran from him....He didn’t call to her, didn’t pursue.” (KB p. 34) The incident, however, was enough to frighten Kit into leaving her mountain home for work in the mills.

Only during the war did Sophie, daughter of a Cracow intellectual, come to know the harsh world of labor. In Warsaw, she worked long hours in a tar paper factory. (SC p. 434) It was there she met Josef, who was to become her lover, and his half-sister, Wanda, a member of the Polish underground. Wanda, a socialist dedicated to Polish freedom, insists that Sophie also join the Resistance. “You must come to a decision!” she exclaims to Sophie, but Sophie declares, “I have already made my choice, as I told you. I will not get involved. I mean this!” (SC p. 457) For smuggling meat, however, “Sophie the stainless, the inaccessible, the uninvolved—was adventitiously ensnared” (SC p. 459) and imprisoned with Wanda and other Resistance fighters who had been captured in a raid elsewhere. Similarly, Kit Brandon turns an uninterested ear to Agnes’s socialist manifestos on workers’ rights, also with ironic results. Agnes is the type to be angered by the identification buttons which the mill workers are forced to wear; she once “took the button from her coat and made a gesture as though to hurl it away into the darkness....Her anger brought a smile to Kit’s lips.” (KB pp. 94-95) Kit thinks to herself, “All right, sister. You’ve got your dream. I’ve got another.” (KB p. 95) Her dream leads her to the blockade-running gang of Tom Halsey, who is both her boss and father-in-law, to an industry more sinister than any mill with identification badges. When Kit is a woman with a price on her head, subject of post office wanted posters, she thinks of flinging that life away into the darkness and starting anew. She thinks also of buying a farm with Agnes; “why shouldn’t she and Agnes work together on the land?” (KB p. 347) To Agnes she writes a letter suggesting just that, but, Anderson tells us, “she never knew whether or not it reached its destination.” (KB p. 348) Another choice becomes more important in Kit’s future.

Neither the Polish refugee nor the refugee from the hills is interested in sweep-

ing social or political reforms, but they share a passion for reading. Inspired by her English language teacher's reading of Emily Dickinson's "Because I could not stop for Death," Sophie goes to the Brooklyn College library and, in broken English, asks where to find "the works of the nineteenth-century American poet Emil Dickens." (SC p. 124) The overbearing Nazi of a librarian, Sholom Weiss, browbeats Sophie for her ignorance until she faints in nauseous fear. It is Nathan Landau, her schizophrenic Prince Charming, who kindly stops for her in this their first meeting. Later, Nathan, who describes himself to Sophie as "a confirmed and frustrated schoolmaster," discovers in Sophie's apartment "Polish translations of Hemingway and Wolfe and Dreiser and Farrell." Eagerly he talks with Sophie about Dreiser, insisting that she read *Sister Carrie*. (SC p. 169) This novel by a sojourner in Appalachia is the one offered Kit Brandon when she first ventures into a public library, an episode which occurs shortly after she has left Agnes and the mill for work in a shoe factory in another town. Her lodging is with an Italian family whose native language piques Kit's curiosity to learn more about the world. When she turns to the library, she is confused but not intimidated, as Sophie is. To a well-dressed, very refined woman who offers her help, Kit openly confesses, "I'll tell you, I'm a factory girl. I've never been in a place like this before. I know nothing of books." (KB p. 158) The woman goes over rows of books before offering one to Kit. "'It's a book by Theodore Dreiser,' she says. 'He may be our greatest novelist.' The title of the book was *Sister Carrie*." (KB p. 159)⁹ The elegant woman who helps Kit is a big bug, daughter of the man who founded the shoe factory where Kit works. This chance meeting is fatal to Kit's future, for as the woman drives Kit to her rooming house, Kit can think of only one thing, the beauty of the fast car. It makes her restless for something more in her life, and so in a few days she is on her way to another town, another job.

For both Sophie and Kit, the visit to a library is the first step toward an overwhelming catastrophe from which Sophie does not escape, and from which Kit barely escapes with her life. As Kit sits in the train station with *Sister Carrie* in her hands, she is approached by a young man looking for a girl to pick up for a night of fun. Kit lets him drive her to the next town and buy her a dinner at the hotel, but she slips away. It was an experiment in the manipulation of men; "she felt like a hunter of big game who had been out shooting rabbits." (KB p. 171) No man ever dominates Kit the way Nathan dominates Sophie. Sometimes a young man appeals to Kit's motherly instinct, but in her life, especially in her marriage, men are merely useful as a means to fine clothes, money, and fast cars.

In *Sophie's Choice*, Stingo earnestly hopes to become not only Sophie's friend and confidant, but also her lover. The moment is realized when he saves Sophie from the enraged Nathan and they flee toward Virginia where Stingo plans to give Sophie sanctuary on a farm. Three men play the role of Kit's confidant-lover-rescuer. The first is Alf Weathersmythe, like Stingo a Virginia college boy with a taste for the exotic life. While Kit teaches Alf how to drive the blockade, he in turn tells her tales of his aristocratic Virginia family, and of the grandfather who was one of Mosby's raiders during the Civil War. Kit cherishes Alf as a good friend to

whom she can talk candidly. Only after he leaves her to serve as Tom Halsey's bodyguard does Kit realize that Tom is playing on Alf's distorted notions of aristocratic heroism in order to trick him into becoming a murderer.

The second man who plays a role like that of the madcap savior, Stingo, is Kit's estranged husband, Gordon Halsey. Fearing that he cannot survive the infighting among his father's gang, Gordon beseeches Kit to escape with him:

They would run away together, go out West. They would get a ranch, raise cattle. He would become something he had seen depicted in the movies, a cowboy....He would wear spurs and a ten-gallon hat, have a rope hanging on the pommel of his saddle. He would lasso steers, ride proudly into the western towns while she....She would be a meek and faithful wife to him. (*KB* p. 324)

Just as Sophie allows Stingo to have his pipedream, Kit plays along with Gordon. Instead of taking him west, however, she returns him to his father's hideout on the night when it is raided by federal agents. In his confusion and fear, Gordon kills his father and Kit escapes.

It is while she is on the run, having decided to renounce her life as a blockade runner, that Kit meets the third man who is truly her savior, not in any dramatic way but in one of those typically understated epiphanies for which Anderson is so famous.¹⁰ He is Joel Hanaford, son of Judge Hanaford, another in a long string of men "bored with respectability." If she found Gordon a child-man to despise, her attitude toward the alcoholic, shell-shocked Joel is quite different. "I wish I could take him with me," she thought. "I'd like to take care of him." (*KB* p. 371) Joel recognizes the nature of Kit's response. "I wish it wasn't like that with you," he says, "but you see I'm only half a man and you want a man. If I was a bit more a man, I'd be asking you to marry me." (*KB* p. 372)

Stingo planned to marry Sophie, to keep her safely on his farm in Virginia, but she deserts him and returns to the crazy Nathan whom she loves, returns to the suicide pact with him she had avoided once before. Kit also deserts Joel, but not before she has stood a long time looking across the hallway from her hotel room to his. Before, she had asked herself, "What did I want? What have I always wanted?" (*KB* p. 358) With Joel, in one day, "she had been carried out of herself and her own problem and into the life of another puzzled human. There were people to be found. She would get into some sort of work that did not so separate her from others. There might be some one other puzzled and baffled young one with whom she could make a real partnership in living." (*KB* p. 373) Sophie's choice is to die with Nathan; Kit's choice is to live again, love again.

Despite Anderson's insistence that Kit Brandon's choices are played out in an atmosphere of war, a civil war with Prohibition as its central issue, that war in no way becomes for Kit the nightmare Holocaust which Sophie endures. Kit makes no choice comparable to Sophie's choice and pays no price comparable to hers. In this war, the roles of Sophie and Kit are reversed. Sophie is a victim. Kit is a warrior, a victimizer. And yet there is at the heart of Anderson's novel the conviction that Kit, too, passes through a testing fire, less hot than Sophie's perhaps, but no less purifying.

It is unfortunate for Anderson's novel that this conviction is enunciated in a rambling, disjointed passage. Indeed, Charles Child Walcott would call its method of statement "an endpoint of naturalistic uniform. It is experience recorded without commentary, without adequate selection, and without the saving grace of being organically related to an action."¹¹ That would be true, were it not for the fact that the passage to which I am referring comes in the first chapter, and the remainder of the novel is **commentary by adequate selection** upon the truth of it.

Anderson begins his analysis of Kit by saying, "Men can be beasts sometimes and so can women, too. I'm not trying to reproduce her exact words. I can't. You can go through any possible experience. A dog rolls in offal sometimes. It doesn't change him. She evidently wanted to say that she thought that she had been something when she started life and that she was the same after the experiences she had been through." (*KB* pp. 23-24) The narrator is intrigued by this attitude, by Kit's belief that she can pass through the fire without so much as the scent of smoke on her garments when she reaches the other side. She had the "notion" that "it's best sometimes to throw everything away," a notion which the narrator says "certainly isn't an American notion...I have known (he says) a few Europeans and particularly Russians and a Turk who had the same notion." (*KB* p. 24) This notion embodies the idea that "all people have...meanness, lowness in them" (*KB* p. 25) hidden behind a veil of respectability that is best "thrown away." In illustration, Anderson offers Kit's story of a woman, virgin daughter of a Presbyterian Sunday School superintendent, who visited Kit in jail, not to offer her Christian charity but to become her disciple in crime. She, like Kit, believed that "it was better for all people, if they had it in them...to be sometime in life openly, even publicly, low." (*KB* p. 26) The narrator questioned Kit closely about her belief:

"You mean," I asked, "that if you want to kill some one it's better to go and do it than to go around with killing in your heart?"

"Yes, to do that or any other low or mean thing," she said.

"Right out publicly before all the world, you mean?"

She seemed to have the notion...it was a kind of philosophy she had built for herself out of her experience.

"We're low and we're high. It's better to feel everything you can feel—throw it away."
(*KB* pp. 26-27)

Implicit in the philosophy, however, is the idea that one must tread this path alone, that one can be this way yet remain unchanged for the worse. Indeed, because of it one may be better. The narrator remembers a painter who said, "A man can't really paint unless he can also be an utter skunk." (*KB* p. 27)

These "European notions," this philosophy of "throwing it all away," have a bearing on the life of Sophie, for she is the victim of a man who lives this philosophy to its most horrible limits. He is Dr. Jemand von Niemand, the Auschwitz doctor who commands Sophie to choose which of her two children she will send to the gas and which she will save. Von Niemand is a complex character whose "depravity has been enacted in a vacuum of sinless and businesslike

godlessness, while his soul thirsted for beatitude. Was it not supremely simple, then, to restore his belief in God, and at the same time to affirm his human capacity for evil, by committing the most intolerable sin that he was able to conceive? Goodness could come later. But first a great sin." (SC p. 593) His unpardonable sin is the prerequisite to unalloyed goodness. One must first pass through the fire, be low and mean, throw it all away, in order to achieve salvation. Thus it is possible for such a person, as in Kit Brandon's case, to believe that one is unchanged for the worse since the truth is that by being a devil one is becoming a better person. The terrible irony is that others inherit the hell which he or she is leaving behind. And yet there can only be the hope that for them, for a Sophie or for a Gordon Halsey, it is also a purifying hell.

Thus in some respect it may be that the horrors and complexities of *Sophie's Choice* offer a key to understanding *Kit Brandon*. We expect to find a complex wrestling with the question of good-and-evil worked out in the story of a Captain Ahab or a Dr. Von Niemand, those archetypal Somebody/Nobody Everymen who stride so forcefully through our literature. We expect an Ethan Brand, but not a Kit Brandon, to be the soul in which such great drama is played out. Instead, we are captivated by a woman who excels in a man's world, does men's jobs better than men, and in so doing works toward her own redemption. In this novel, Anderson has brought the ancient story of Eve into the future with a new and powerfully provocative dimension added to it.

NOTES

¹W.D. Taylor, "Kit Brandon: A Reidentification," *Newberry Library Bulletin*, 12(1971), 264.

²In addition to Taylor, see also an earlier article, R.L. White, "The Original for Sherwood Anderson's *Kit Brandon*," *Newberry Library Bulletin*, 6 (1965), 196-199.

³Cratis D. Williams, "Kit Brandon: A Reappraisal," *Shenandoah*, 13, no. 3 (1962), 61.

⁴See, for example, the generally negative evaluation of *Kit Brandon* in Charles Child Walcutt, "Sherwood Anderson: Impressionism and the Buried Life" in Ray Lewis White, ed., *The Achievement of Sherwood Anderson: Essays in Criticism* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1966), pp. 169-170.

⁵Sherwood Anderson, *Kit Brandon* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), p. 1. Hereafter, the novel is cited in the text as *KB*.

⁶Williams, p. 58, places the setting near Elizabethton, Tennessee, a locale which fits the novel's vague reference to a place "seventy or eighty miles" from Knoxville (*KB* p. 4). If that be the case, Kit would grow up in and migrate to a place connected with famous textile strikes of 1929. For this background to *KB*, see also Sylvia Cook, "Gastonia: The Literary Reverberations of the Strike," *The Southern Literary Journal*, 7, no. 1 (1974), 49-66.

⁷I am indebted to my colleague Dr. Grace Edwards, Radford University, for an unpublished analysis of "the exceptional woman" in Appalachian fiction, a study which convinces me that Anderson indeed meant us to take Kit's background seriously.

⁸William Styron, *Sophie's Choice* (New York: Bantam Books, 1980), p. 33. Hereafter, the novel is cited in the text as *SC*.

⁹The model for Kit Brandon is, in part, Carrie Meeber herself. See Rex Burbank, *Sherwood Anderson* (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1964), p. 134.

¹⁰Concerning Anderson's technique of revealing "in transcendent scenes, often epiphanies, the reality beneath appearances...," see William V. Miller, "In Defense of Mountaineers: Sherwood Anderson's Hill

Stories," *Ball State University Forum*, 15, no. 2 (1974), 58. Walcutt, p. 171, however, considers such a moment as one finds at the conclusion of *KB* merely, "static reverie." Burbank, p. 135, avers that *KB* bears out the fact that while Anderson was master of the "brief episode," he never mastered "the demands...of the novel." Nancy L. Bunge, "The Ambiguous Endings of Sherwood Anderson's Novels," in H.H. Campbell and C.E. Modlin, eds., *Sherwood Anderson: Centennial Studies* (Troy, New York: Whitson Publishing Co., 1976), p. 256, says that "the novel ends hopefully," but Kit's "search (for a new life) will be extensive; there are few men capable of love."

¹¹Walcutt, p. 170.

This page intentionally left blank

Culture, Images and Change

This page intentionally left blank

Introduction

Joan Moser

The first reason for including these two papers has to do with their content—they address some major questions about the nature of *cultures* and *societies* and how the past, present, and future of the lives of real people in specific places may be affected by the dynamic processes represented by these broad concepts. The second reason for publishing the two papers should become obvious even on a first reading. They treat their subjects in well-crafted, articulate and straightforward styles and enhance the usefulness of this entire volume in so doing.

Both articles also happen to compliment each other by presenting contrasting approaches to ways of interpreting what is going on and why. For instance, they both ask whether there really is an Appalachian entity involved in the evolution of an extended diversity of events. However, one writer looks mainly at factors from within, the other, from without.

The Wagner paper focuses primarily on questions of how urban America reaches a perspective of viewing itself as being on the **outside** of whatever Appalachia may be. In counterpoint to this, Plaut's approach deals directly with happenings **inside** a place which, call it what you will, is definitely not your average urban, middle America context.

Wagner suggests that there is a social science model designed by Turner which best illustrates what has actually emerged as the alter ego of mainline America and affected its relationship with other societies, notably Appalachia. She demonstrates that this same model offers a way of explaining the conception of Appalachia as different, maintained consistently by middle America in so many diverse manifestations for an amazingly enduring expanse of America's social history.

Plaut's approach is to examine a set of problems within a specific social context and, while acknowledging outside historical and socio-economic impacts, to discover ways of generating some workable solutions from within. In expounding on such solutions, he also suggests that there is that something different which he views as 'a "traditional" Appalachian community.'

Finally, both writers agree that whether Appalachia is simply an abstract conception in the collective awareness of many people, or a definite locale in space and time, it deserves intense scrutiny. In either case, both the quantity and quality of many human lives may depend on a clear-sighted sensitivity toward the complexity of either interpretation.

Appalachia In America's Future: Alternative Cultural Forms

Melinda Bollar Wagner

We are faced with the question, especially since the publication of Shapiro's *Appalachia On Our Mind* (1978), of whether Appalachia is fact or fiction: Is there a distinctive subculture here under our feet, or is Appalachia a myth (which we perpetuate)?¹ Shapiro maintains that Appalachia is a figment of the vested interest imaginations of: 1) local color writers of the 1870's who saw in Appalachia new grist for their paper mills; 2) Protestant Home Missions, who in the 1880's were seeking new worlds to conquer; 3) social scientists looking for new worlds to analyze, and 4) social reformers, who saw Appalachia as an experimental ground where strategies for change could be tested.

Appalachian scholar Jack Higgs said "A lot of people are concerned that Appalachia is being done away with, but I think that it will continue to survive as a myth. In actuality, it's probably very little different from any place else, but the human mind insists on certain myths" (Alderman 1981). Anthropologist Allen Batteau (1979a,b,c) dubbed Appalachia a "creature of the urban imagination;" Batteau has described the content of the "myth" of Appalachia, and discussed why it has taken the particular form it has.

Indeed, it does seem that urban America is captivated by the idea of Appalachia, (or at least has been from time-to-time). As early as 1924, dramatist Percy MacKaye wrote:

Over there in the mountains are men who do not live in cages; a million Americans, who do not chase the dollar, who do not time-serve machines, who do not learn their manners from the movies or their culture from the beauty parlors. Shall we not then, hasten to civilize them—convert their dirty log-cabins into clean cement cages? Or first shall we inquire whether they may have something to contribute to our brand-new civilization—something which of old we cherished but now perhaps have forgotten.

The issue this paper wishes to address is this: If Appalachia is the subject of mythmaking in America, why is it? What is this "cherished something" which is sought after? Like Batteau (1979a,c), I wish to leave aside, for now, the question of whether the myth is based in fact. I want to know why urban (and academic) America is drawn *particularly* to Appalachia? What philosophical purpose does Appalachia serve for America? This paper is meant to be a stepping stone to crossing this theoretical creek, rather than a fully constructed bridge. Perhaps it will serve to focus more thinking in this direction.

A model which may be instructive in analyzing why America looks to Appalachia, and what it expects to find here, is Victor Turner's delineation of "community" and "communitas." "Community" is Turner's label for a society's social

structure. It is a norm-governed, institutionalized and abstract structure which delineates how people behave toward one another according to the roles they play. “Communitas,” on the other hand, represents spontaneous, immediate, and concrete relationships among human beings as human beings, rather than as role-bearers. Communitas suggest—not what is (that is social structure), but what could be—it is the crucible which holds human potentialities and universal human values. It is thus existential and speculative.

Turner (1969:203) sets forth the idea that society “needs” both.

Society seems to be a process rather than a thing—a dialectical process with successive phases of structure and communitas. There would seem to be—if one can use such a controversial term—a human “need” to participate in both modalities.

This could be said to be akin to “culture” seeking after “nature” (or “absence of culture”) (Batteau 1979a:6), with the caveat that “communitas” is opposed *both* to acting only in terms of the rights and obligations conveyed by virtue of a role in the social structure *and* to “following one’s psychobiological urges at the expense of one’s fellows” (Turner 1969:105).

Some societies seek “communitas” in rituals, where, for the moment, the rules of social structure are loosened, abandoned, or made to stand on their heads. In ritual, the structural underdog becomes the symbolically superior. The structural “boss-man” undergoes penance to achieve an experience of “communitas.” The states reached in rituals imply:

that the high could not be high unless the low existed, and he who is high must experience what it is like to be low (Turner 1969:97).

The hypothesis I am putting forth here is that urban America or middle America seeks “communitas” in Appalachia.² Rather than experiencing “communitas” through rituals which carry one through a “liminal” state (a state of transition, or marginality, or being on the “threshold”), America looks to Appalachia, and by looking, experiences a sort of vicarious liminality. In other words, America looks to Appalachia for its alter ego.

But why is America’s alter ego to be found in Appalachia? Why do we have Appalachian Studies Programs, *Foxfire* books, and *Our Appalachia* collections of oral histories, but not Midwestern Studies Programs, and “Our Indiana” books?³ Some clues to the answer here are to be found in the characteristics which Turner finds are common to representatives of communitas.

Turner’s examples of bearers of communitas include court jesters, holy mendicants, good Samaritans, seekers belonging to millenarian movements, beatniks and hippies, and matrilateral kin in patrilineal systems.⁴ The roles these persons play represent the “soft,” the personal, the morally and ritually (as opposed to structurally) true.

I don’t know why Turner didn’t think to include Appalachia in his list of examples, because it seems to fit on many counts. If we look at the traits which Turner finds are characteristic of carriers of communitas, we’ll see that many actually apply to Appalachia, and all have been *attributed* to Appalachia.

First, let’s deal with the ways individuals relate to one another, which Turner

implies differ in community and communitas. Our community here—middle America—is known for its individualism, for the expression of “self,” and for relationships which are largely “secondary,” partial, and segmented, governed by the rules of roles.

But in our communitas—Appalachia—we find that “familism” or a “person-orientation” is often noted by observers. This could be characterized as a “collective” orientation, which stands as the opposite of individualism. In a collective orientation, there is an overriding concern with making things go smoothly within the group.

A whole passel of traits goes with this one. For example, one’s place in the group is an important identifying marker; who you are, especially in terms of kin ties, is more important than what you do. And competition among individuals is hardly compatible with the collective mode.

An indirect mode of communication, which anthropologist George Hicks (1976) calls the “ethic of neutrality,” accompanies the collective orientation. In Appalachia, a person may not directly ask, “How much did that new car cost?” Instead, he might say, “I bet a car like that cost a right smart,” or “You can’t get a car like that for no \$200.” And the owner of the car can answer “Yep,” or “Nope,” or “It cost _____ dollars,” or not answer at all. Or, as a West Virginia friend of our Dean replied when asked the cost of a horse collar: “I just bought it brand new and paid a three dollar bill for it.” (I recently asked a student how much she received for the sale of a horse. Standing beside my desk, she drew herself up and replied “Enough.”)

The modes of “identity” associated with these two orientations differ, as well. Middle America, especially in recent years, has been noted for its expressions of “selfhood.” In Appalachia, on the other hand, it is said that one’s identity is ultimately bound up with the community. Kai Erikson (1976) discusses the submergence of the self in the collectivity. Looff (1971) describes child-rearing practices which he says foster “dependency” on the group. F. Carlene Bryant (1981) interprets religious forms as the submergence of self in the family of Christ (and finds that this interpretation fits better with indigenous understandings than does the “religious individualism” noted by Weller (1965) and others.)

Within the collective mode, it is not desirable to step out, to be recognized, to set yourself apart as different from, perhaps better than, your group. Philosophy professors have noted that it is difficult to teach philosophy in the traditional way to Appalachian students because causing them to criticize one another’s thinking is like searching for the philosopher’s stone (Acquaviva 1980; van der Bogert 1980; Humphrey 1980).

Perhaps that is why individualistic America looks longingly toward Appalachia, because its alter ego, the collective orientation, lies here.

The millenarians and hippies Turner uses as examples show that it is persons who occupy a weak position in the society’s social structure who represent communitas. The structural underdog is morally and ritually superior. Secular weakness is sacred power. Thus, Appalachia’s economic and political position in

the society—its place as an internal colony (Lewis 1970, 1978) or as part of a peripheral economy (Walls 1978)—help to make it a repository of communitas. The communitas of “wealth and nobility is poverty and pauperism” (Turner 1969:200). Is this why rich America looks to Appalachia for its communitas, and finds and emphasizes poverty? Is this why Appalachia is endowed with the “lost” virtues such as “making do” and “spirituality”?

Relationships among the poor (though “content”) folks of Appalachia are often characterized as “egalitarian” in nature. Again, this is consistent with the social structure-communitas model, for according to Turner (1969: 96), social structure is nearly always stratified, and communitas is relatively undifferentiated. Looking through the prism of social structure, society appears “as a structured, differentiated, and often hierarchical system of politico-legal-economic positions...separating men in terms of ‘more’ or ‘less.’” But turn the kaleidoscope, and the lens of communitas reveals a “relatively undifferentiated...communion of equal individuals.”⁵

Turner’s communitas is represented in figures of folk literature, such as “holy beggars, third sons, little tailors, and simpletons, who strip off the pretensions of holders of high rank and office and reduce them to the level of common humanity and mortality” (Turner 1969:110). Appalachian lore—for example, Gurney Norman’s tales of getting the best of the king—play this role for America. (Another American-made example, which uses Appalachian characters, is the Duke Boys of Hazzard and their treatment of Boss Hogg.)

As these distinctions between social structure and communitas show, the presence of communitas serves to define social structure by putting it into relief—making it “stand out.” This part of the myth which dwells on poverty may function to preserve the status quo in America. For example, “fatalism” or “contentment” serves as a rationale for maintaining the status quo in Appalachia among the 15% of the people who are poor (ARC 1981:25).⁶ The “poverty in the mountains” can also serve to maintain the middle American status quo, by providing a platform for relative deprivation in reverse. The middle American sees the lack of economic resources in certain areas of Appalachia, and says “Boy, I really am well off compared to those folks.”

Communitas’ representations of the opposite of structure and order could be manifested physically, or geographically, as well as socially. Look at a map of the United States. The Appalachian region is a crazy quilt of counties, which look like pieces cut to fit jigsaw puzzle spaces. They were defined by the natural terrain, which is not ordered, or at least its order is not imposed by humans. But this non-order falls away to the order of regular squares and rectangles as you move west into Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, where middle America and social structure live. (Even the beside-the-road crown vetch, planted by State Highway Departments, looks “wild” as it flows over the roadside cliffs in southwest Virginia; the same plant looks quite kempt where it creeps along the flats beside highways in Indiana, Ohio, and Illinois.)

Lack of structure bubbles up into lawlessness, fascinating to the bearers of

social structure. An American-Appalachian example is the long-standing heed paid to feuds (e.g. Campbell 1923; Fox 1901; Frost 1899). In December 1981, *Time* magazine devoted its back page essay to “Hatfields and McCoys on the West Virginia Border.” Articles on strikes in Appalachia often make the front page of the news.

Another perhaps trivial, yet nevertheless startling, similarity between Turner’s conception of *communitas* (which he derived largely from fieldwork in Africa), and the middle American conception of Appalachia, is the fascination with the Appalachian dulcimer, banjo, and more recently, the interest in the hammer dulcimer and the ancient psaltery. Turner says often expressions of *communitas* are culturally linked with simple wind instruments (flutes and harmonicas) and stringed instruments. Turner (1969:165) hypothesizes that it is the capacity these instruments have “to convey in music the quality of spontaneous human *communitas*” which accounts for this.

Thus, social structure and *communitas* represent two sides of a coin reflecting ways people perceive and play out relationships among themselves. The two also differ in their modes of perceiving the world. According to Turner (1969:127-8), “relations between total beings are generative of symbols and metaphors and comparisons; art and religion are their products rather than legal and political structures.” Perhaps Appalachia’s alter ego for America includes an alternative “way of seeing.”

Two distinct means of understanding have been delineated by social scientists, and have now been popularized as “left brain” (logical, rational), and “right brain” (nonlogical, intuitive) modes. Rational means of communication are based on information, facts, and analytical, logical reasoning. Marshall McLuhan (1977) claimed that discursive communication, which relies upon words, grammar and mathematical symbols, began to dominate when the written word came into being and took a giant leap forward with the invention of the printing press. This lineal, or linear, style of thinking is exemplified in the usual Western scientific thought, which approaches history and evolution in terms of long lines (running from left to right, top to bottom, or bottom to top on the blackboard) tracing its “progress” (however devoid of “intentionality” we try to be). Another example is the “cause,” with the arrow pointing toward the “effect.” Even complicated feedback loops and “path diagrams” are crisscrossed with lines, and can ultimately be broken down into so many cause-and-effect relationships.

The nondiscursive elements of culture, on the other hand, include traditions, meaningful places, sentiments like love, loyalty and faith, and ways of knowing which are nonrational, intuitive, expressive and emotional. Nondiscursive modes of communication such as rituals, dance, drama, painting and music, carry meaning beyond that which can be conveyed in words.

Following is a list of words which apply first to the discursive and then to the nondiscursive aspects of culture:

Discursive		Nondiscursive
knowledge	vs.	experience
fact	vs.	metaphor
history	vs.	myth
technique	vs.	ritual
cash value	vs.	sentimental value
secular	vs.	sacred
science	vs.	religion

Our cultural storehouse is at present top heavy with information, facts, and rational means of understanding. “Institutions emphasizing discursive communication—such as science, technology and the market—are functioning more energetically and effectively than those which emphasize such things as art, poetry, ritual and human relations” (Klapp 1969:324).

Perhaps American culture, built primarily on discursive thinking, again looks to Appalachia for its complement, i.e. nondiscursive thinking. Whether nondiscursive thinking is actually to be found here is a not yet answered question. There are, however, some tentative clues that Appalachia may be a repository of this kind of understanding.

For one, collective orientation and nondiscursive understandings tend to occur together; they support one another. Marshall McLuhan said that cultures which still had strong oral traditions, like the rural Irish and like Appalachia, were bastions of this way of knowing, which McLuhan (1977) championed.

Anthropologist Tom Plaut’s (1979) essay on the Appalachian view of the land shows that it is symptomatic of this kind of understanding. The land is seen as a matrix for life, as a crucible for the social world, rather than as property, or as the thing upon which development takes place (which would be more typical of a “linear” mode of thinking).

It will be necessary to conduct further research to discover whether nondiscursive modes of understanding are actually to be found in Appalachia. This research (which I hope to undertake in the future), will clarify whether this hypothesis is another exercise in myth-making, or an analysis which will carry the understanding of Appalachian cultures forward.

To summarize, we have discussed anthropologist Victor Turner’s concept of “communitas,” the seemingly necessary counterpart to a society’s social structure. We have seen that Appalachia’s actual (factual) place in American social structure makes it a prime candidate to play the “communitas” role in American society. And, we have seen that middle America’s (and academic America’s) conception of Appalachia does fit the characteristics Turner ascribes to “communitas.” Data are accumulating which will allow us to better judge whether these characteristics are *actually* a part of Appalachian cultures.

If we find that Appalachia, or parts of it, is indeed a repository for a collective orientation and nondiscursive ways of knowing, what then? Why should these constitute, as the title of this paper implies, alternative cultural forms for America's future? Do the "elements for a utopian vision" which would allow human beings to live "the kind of life that is meaningful in the most profound sense of the term" (Plaut 1978:362) lie here? Why not root out the last vestiges of nondiscursive understanding, and proceed down the path to ultimate rationality (a path championed, for example, by astronomer and polymath Carl Sagan)?

Perhaps the answer lies in a kind of "law" of evolution which says that the best chance for long-term survival lies in diversity. The "adaptation" of any species refers to its ability to survive (reproduce) in a particular physical and social environment. If the environment changes, what is "adaptive" will change. The presence of diversity (called polymorphism, or "many forms") means that some beings will be able to adapt to the change. The principle works for cultural as well as biological forms.

The necessity for future flexibility requires that many modes of relating to one another and understanding our world remain with us. Obviously, we cannot disparage, nor afford to lose, logical rational thought. It is imperative that we (and our children) understand the way to rationally weigh scientific evidence.

Yet Turner may have been more right than he knew when he said there may be an almost biological need for the two "sides" of society, and thus, for the two modes of relating to other people and understanding the world around us. Anthropologists Roy Rappaport and Gregory Bateson believe that nonrational modes of understanding are critical for our continued existence. Conscious reason reinforces the human's conception that he stops at his skin. On the contrary, he is a part of larger systems upon which his ultimate survival depends. Rappaport (1976:33) contends that "the wholeness, if not indeed the very existence of these systems may be beyond the grasp of ordinary consciousness. Conscious reason is incomplete, and so are its unaided understandings." Bateson (1972:444) suggests that the "cybernetic nature of self and the world tends to be imperceptible to consciousness," which is linear. This is especially problematic since the advent of advanced technology, which empowers "conscious purpose...to upset the balances of the body, of society and of the biological world around us."

Perhaps we should not be castigated for perpetuating a myth. We should continue to develop means, of course, for discovering whether these alternative cultural forms are actually present in Appalachia. If they are, perhaps they are the means of our ultimate survival.

Those who are accused of wishing to preserve outmoded lifestyles, to create living museums of "backwards" cultures or "yesterday's people" should counter with this question: Can American culture afford to lose any means of understanding each other or the world around us—even as we continue to create and discover more and more to understand?

Footnotes

¹This use of the word “myth” depends on the common meaning which simply connotes a traditional story or “image,” whether founded in fact or not (the implication is that the story is not verifiable by empirical means). A more specific use of the words refers to myth as a set of symbols set in a structure which serves to express, and resolve, contradictions among traits within a culture. This use derives from the work of anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss. While the simple and less specific meaning is implied here, Turner’s (1969) delineation of community and *communitas* (“structure and anti-structure”) discussed later in the paper lends itself to comparison with the meaning and function Levi-Strauss gave to myth.

²“Middle America” and the characteristics we attribute to it may also be mythical. The use of this term implies more homogeneity in the rest of America (“non-Appalachian America”) than there actually is. Nevertheless, there is an extant *image* of a “heartland” which typifies Turner’s “community.” The image would reflect reality in certain geographical and cultural areas and in certain socioeconomic strata.

³When media attention is focused on the image of the midwest, as when the Public Broadcasting Service made its series of documentaries about “Middletown” (Muncie, Indiana), newspaper headlines in Roanoke, Virginia read “Muncie is us: PBS picks Indiana town to typify Middle America.” (It should be noted that the sociologists Robert and Helen Lynd “picked” it first.) Muncie et al. are seen as America—as Turner’s social structure. Appalachia is seen as something else: something we’ve lost, something we should at times “get back to.” Appalachia may be seen as America’s contemporary ancestors, but not as what America “is.”

⁴As this list of examples shows, it couldn’t be said that Appalachians are the only “folk” urban Americans look to for “*communitas*.” For example, American Indian cultures also play this role.

⁵Studies have been and are being undertaken to discover whether “egalitarianism” exists and what it means in Appalachia (eg. Matthews 1966 and Schwarzweller 1971).

⁶According to the Appalachian Regional Commission (1981:24-5), in 1976, 15% of the households in Appalachia (ARC definition) were below a poverty level defined as “a 1975 income below \$5,502 for a nonfarm family of four persons with a male head.” In the Central Appalachian subregion, 25% of the households were below this poverty level. These figures compare to 11.8% below poverty level for the nation as a whole. Much of the writing which emphasized poverty was, however, undertaken at a time when the proportion of Appalachian people in poverty (as defined in a statistical sense), was higher than this.

References Cited

Acquaviva, Gary J.

1980 Teaching Philosophy in Appalachia: An Existential Approach. Paper presented at the Appalachian Studies Conference, East Tennessee State University, Johnson City, TN.

Alderman, John

1981 Heroines, Good Guys, Bad Guys and Other Nice Folks. Radford Magazine, 3(1):12-13.

Anderson, Kurt

1981 On the West Virginia Border: Hatfields and McCoys. Time, December 14.

Appalachian Regional Commission

1981 Appalachia—A Reference Book: Supplement to the Second Edition. Washington DC: Appalachian Regional Commission.

Bateson, Gregory

1972a Conscious Purpose versus Nature. In *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*. pp. 426-439. New York: Ballantine.

1972b Effects of Conscious Purpose on Human Adaptation. In *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*. pp. 440-447. New York: Ballantine.

- Batteau, Allen**
1979a The American Culture of Appalachia. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- 1979b Appalachia and the Concept of Culture: A Theory of Shared Misunderstandings. *Appalachian Journal* 7(1-2):9-32.
- 1979c The Making of "Appalachia" in America. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Anthropological Society, Memphis, Tennessee.
- van der Bogert, Frans**
1980 The Cultural Context of Philosophic Criticism. Paper presented at the Appalachian Studies Conference, East Tennessee State University, Johnson City, TN.
- Bryant, F. Carlene**
1981 We're All Kin. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- Campbell, John C.**
1923 The Southern Highlander and His Homeland. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Erikson, Kai T.**
1976 Everything in its Path. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Fox, John, Jr.**
1901 The Southern Mountaineer. *Scribner's Magazine* 29:387-399, 556-570.
- Frost, William G.**
1899 Our Contemporary Ancestors in the Southern Mountains. *Atlantic Monthly* 83:311-319.
- Hicks, George L.**
1976 Appalachian Valley. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.
- Humphrey, Richard**
1980 Academic Philosophy and Appalachian Culture. Paper presented at the Appalachian Studies Conference, East Tennessee State University, Johnson City, Tennessee.
- Klapp, Orrin E.**
1969 Collective Search for Identity. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.
- Lewis, Helen M.**
1970 Fatalism or the Coal Industry. *Mountain Life and Work* 46:4-15. Reprinted in Appalachia: Social Context Past and Present. Bruce Ergood and Bruce E. Kuhre, eds. 1976, pp. 153-161. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt.
- Lewis, Helen Matthews, Linda Johnson, and Don Askins, Editors**
1978 Colonialism in Modern America: The Appalachian Case. Boone, NC: The Appalachian Consortium Press.
- Looff, David H.**
1971 Appalachia's Children: The Challenge of Mental Health. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky.
- MacKaye, Percy**
1924 Untamed America: A Comment on a Sojourn in the Kentucky Mountains. *Survey* 51:326-31, 360, 362-63.
- McLuhan, Marshall**
1977 Lecture given at Radford University, Radford, Virginia.
- Matthews, Elmora Messer**
1966 Neighbor and Kin: Life in a Tennessee Ridge Community. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.

- Plaut, Tom
1978 Extending the Internal Periphery Model: The Impact of Culture and Consequent Strategy. In Colonialism in Modern America, Helen M. Lewis, et al., eds. pp. 351-364.
- 1979 Appalachia and Social Change: A Cultural Systems Approach. Appalachian Journal 6(4):250-264, esp. pp. 253-255.
- Rappaport, Roy A.
1976 Liturgies and Lies. International Yearbook of Sociology and Religion 10:75-104.
- Schwarzeweller, Harry K., James S. Brown, and J.J. Mangalam
1971 Mountain Families in Transition. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Shapiro, Henry D.
1978 Appalachia on Our Mind. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Turner, Victor W.
1969 The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure. Chicago: Aldine.
- Walls, David S.
1978 Internal Colony or Internal Periphery: A Critique of Current Models and Alternative Formulation. In Colonialism in Modern America. Helen M. Lewis et al., eds. pp. 319-349.
- Weller, Jack E.
1965 Yesterday's People: Life in Contemporary Appalachia. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.

Notes On Voluntary Service Networking And Community Building

Thomas Plaut

When one goes beyond the statistics of the current economic crisis in America to the faces and everyday lives of the people in places like Appalachian, Western North Carolina, there is ample evidence of suffering and an inability of a number of households to remain self-sufficient.

There are victims of industrial accidents and serious illness who are home-bound and isolated without adequate care.

There are people sent home to die by health care facilities which "can't do anything more" for them.

There are families of these people, trying to care for them without adequate resources—medical or psychological—who suffer from a sense that "I'm not doing enough for her/him." They, too, suffer from an isolation caused by the fact that friends and neighbors also have a sense of not knowing how to help.

There are the elderly (whose children are now in Baltimore, Detroit, or California) who need adequate nutrition, adequate heating, adequate housing...adequate love, caring, and connections with the social world beyond the old home place.

There are people who need transportation—to medical facilities, to nutrition sites, to shopping areas, and to work.

There are people who need food.

There are people who need fuel for cooking and heating.

There are kids who need big sisters and brothers and tutors to help negotiate school systems.

A caseworker in a rural service agency recently shared with me some needs and life experiences of his clients in the form of questions that came up during interviews:

Have you ever had to sell food stamps to buy medicine?

Have you ever had to spend all day huddled under blankets because you had no money to buy oil?

Have you ever had to drive 65 miles to work every day to make minimum wage and tried to buy gas and feed and clothe your family?

Have you ever lived in a little mountain town and been told by an interviewer at the vocational rehabilitation office that even though you had severe medical problems you didn't qualify for disability because you could work as a bell hop?

Have you ever had to pick through trash dumpster boxes to find food and clothing?

Have you ever had the factory where you work close down and discover that you couldn't draw unemployment because the company hadn't put in for it?

In sum, people are hurting.

Traditionally in the mountains there have been networks of kin and community to support individuals and families in times of stress. As people have helped each other in times of planting and harvest, so also they have been at each other's bedsides in times of illness. These traditional support systems still exist in great degree. I remember an incident in a small community in Randolph County, West Virginia, about ten years ago, when a serious industrial accident put a man out of work. Surrounding families made certain that there was enough food, clothing, and heating fuel for his wife and five children during a six-month convalescence. But traditional support systems like this one have been weakened by governmental agency programs, outmigration, and the general mobility industrialization has brought to the mountains in recent years. Consequently, there are many families in need who aren't getting help.

In counterpoint to the growing number of people in need, there are increasing numbers of people in the mountains interested in developing new support systems. As demographic patterns have changed in America and people are moving from metropolitan to rural areas, Appalachian counties in Western North Carolina are gaining an immigrant population with the sort of middleclass values that prompt them to look for service organizations and opportunities. Those already doing this kind of work consistently report a high level of satisfaction with what they're doing. For example, a woodworker and construction contractor in Yancey County recently told me:

I've been teaching woodcarving to a multiple sclerosis victim. I take him to my shop on Saturdays just to get him out of his house...which is a hassle because I've got to pick him up and carry him in the shop...it's frustrating sometimes and a couple of weeks ago, I was really feeling down about it. Well, anyhow, I went and picked him up at his house and brought him to the shop and as I went in the door with him in my arms, he grinned and said, "You know, John, the difference between staying at home and coming here is the difference between nothing and something." And that's the payoff in this kind of work—you do something and realize "hey, this guy doesn't hurt so much because I'm here" or "he's really been able to unlock something and I've had the key."

In a recent year-end review session for a volunteer agency in Buncombe County, N.C., team members were asked to comment on the impact of service in their lives. The uniform response was that the experience had provided relationships and meaning that were highly desirable:

"Identifying with a group of people who want to act, who want to intervene and make a difference has been really significant...."

"It's such a rewarding thing to go into a patient's home and be able to help...."

"I recently had to decide if I would take another job in Raleigh and I found I didn't want to leave this...to leave you."

"I hated to leave my profession (nursing, after a crippling accident), but there was no way I could continue on a full-time basis. You have given me my dream back...my profession back. Now I can function as a nurse."

It seems that in our part of the mountains—and I suspect elsewhere as well—there are people who may or may not be employed but who are looking for ways to intensify and enrich their everyday lives. Who are they and where are they located in relation to other people in the social landscape?

John Stephenson has developed a typology of families in a relatively “traditional” Appalachian community. The typology “is ordered about variations in ways families have solved the economic problem (which) amounts to deciding how one is going to secure what are defined as the necessities of life: food, shelter, clothing, medical care, or whatever else might be defined as necessary.”¹ He found a high correlation between the means employed in solving the “economic problem” and the other kinds of everyday life activities and relations. At one end of his scale or continuum, his “Type I” families are white-collar professional, managerial folks, owners of businesses, who attend mainline denomination churches and look well beyond the borders of their neighborhoods and families for friends and associates and symbolic referents and, when needed, assistance. Type II families have full-time blue-collar employment as the basis of support but are more closely tied to the local neighborhood institutions and support systems. Type III families have seasonal or intermittent work and attend sect-type local, independent churches (if they attend church at all). Sex roles are more clearly divided and exclusive, and kinship looms ever stronger in the loyalty and patterns of everyday interaction. In Type IV, at the opposite end of the scale from Type I, there is “occasional, little, or no real occupational engagement at all,”² and families tend to be bound into traditional roles, support networks, and forms of worship. Type I is located in the mainstream of national symbols and referents, while Type IV tends to “have the lowest proportion of significant contacts outside the neighborhood; they are not truly isolated, but...they are more cut off and self-contained than any of the other types.”³

In conceptualizing community service networks, we face the uncomfortable reality that those in need are Stephenson’s Types III and IV, and even some Type IIs. Virtually all those who want to serve are Type Is. The people involved in voluntary service seem to be a special kind of Type I, distinguished by the following characteristics: All have some college or university training. Most are active or retired professional people. Most are socialized to the view that business is conducted through formal organizations bound by rational rules for action and determining need (as opposed to networks of kin and community where action tends to be based in affective ties of loyalty and obligation). Most are immigrants to the area, having left family and friends in other parts of the country. Consequently, in many there is a need to re-establish meaningful relationships. Community service and membership in “formal” service organizations is one way of doing this.

In sum, there are serious class and cultural differences between the service-oriented immigrants and those in need of assistance. These differences can result in confused and sometimes destructive contacts between groups which can be especially painful for those on the receiving end (although Type Is get burned too). Some efforts at helping are rebuffed. For example:

A Type I woman knows a family is in dire need of food. She buys a variety of foodstuffs and takes them to the home, but the family refuses all but a few cans of green beans.

A Type I person buys a kerosene heater for any elderly couple in need of supplemental heat. Despite obvious need, no one could be found who would accept the heater.

A dichotomy Jack Weller borrowed from Herbert Gans to describe Appalachian people helps explain what we see happening here. Our Type I people seem to be *object oriented*. They want to achieve, discuss, and move in a world of things. When someone is in need, they want to give her or him *something* and be done with it. But our people in need—our Type IIs and certainly Type IIIs and IVs—are *person oriented*.⁴ In their social world, goods move only within the context of, and are often symbolic of, personal relationships. Thus, in the view of most potential recipients, assistance and especially assistance in the form of material goods, is not acceptable unless it comes within the context of relationships that are carried out within the context of community (which at the very minimum at least hints of reciprocity).

We need then volunteers and programs capable and willing to function in a *person oriented* social universe. But what about the people who “want to help,” but aren’t capable of or simply don’t want to reorient themselves or work face-to-face with people in need?

Volunteers can be classified by what they are willing to give. Some only want to give money. Others are willing to collect and distribute goods. And still others seek ongoing personal relationships with people in need. Organizations focusing on different services can use different kinds of volunteers.

One effective organization, “Neighbors in Need” of Madison County, N.C., was established in the Spring of 1982 to funnel material goods to people in crisis—from cash for fuel oil and wood for cooking and heating, to clothing and food for people burned out of their homes. It is staffed by Type I folk of the cash and goods-giving sort. Being a small organization dealing primarily with emergency kinds of situations, its object orientation produces goods when they’re needed. Recipients hear about the service through a person-oriented, word-of-mouth network. There is no “official” office or place to apply for aid or be evaluated. The service operates out of private homes, recipient needs being communicated essentially by telephone.

A short excursus is perhaps in order to describe another kind of volunteer effort—an academic and research oriented project that has had a profound impact on many mountain communities. It is the Appalachian Land Study, which has produced some 1800 pages of land ownership data on some 55,000 parcels of land in 80 counties of six Appalachian states. Some 75 volunteers worked on this effort over a two-year period, going through records courthouse-by-courthouse. In areas where the study uncovered concrete examples of unfair or illegal practices, further citizen action has resulted in demands by other volunteers, at the community and county level, that corporations pay a fair share of their property taxes. In

western North Carolina, questions of land use raised by the study have been debated in several public meetings. The land study represents a different kind of community volunteerism, one which is more appealing to academics or others who like research. The data has generated a means for communities to determine their interests and what is happening or might well happen which would work against those interests.

Another organization is the Mars Hill College "Voluntary Services Committee." Students work in teams of two with families in Madison County. The teams are introduced to a family by someone who is already accepted and trusted. It might be a social worker, a home health nurse, a community mental health worker, a meal site director, or a neighbor. The work may or may not start out being very specific. Tasks performed by volunteers usually are defined out of the relationships developed with the families in the course of their visits. The process often starts by "just visiting" (this is especially true with the elderly). As trust develops, felt needs emerge. Students find themselves doing everything from nursing the sick and helping people deal with grief and loneliness, to helping clean and repair houses, gathering firewood, and getting people in touch with various kinds of services. A problem now emerging on the horizon of this program is that students come and go—at least every four years—and strong relationships built over a period of time are attenuated or broken outright. But the program does suggest a model which could be developed by permanent residents of an area. This has begun to happen in our county with the suggestion that willing families develop on-going ties with families-in-need in their neighborhoods.

One volunteer program that seems to have a high level of acceptance among recipient families involves work with the dying. It's called "hospice" and its aim is to provide interdisciplinary care—medical, psychological, social, and spiritual—to dying patients and their families. It involves teams of nurses, social workers, ministers, and lay "one-on-one" volunteers providing care most commonly in the home setting, although a minority of hospices now have their own impatient facilities. Unheard of in the United States a decade ago, hospice is an ongoing operation now in every major city in the United States. More than 300 groups have sprung up, largely staffed by volunteers. Mountain Area Hospice in Buncombe County, N.C., for example, has the equivalent of three full-time paid staff and nearly 100 people volunteering time for around-the-clock service and availability to homebound patients and their families.

Hospice care has been very successful, having even gained enough legitimation in some areas for third party reimbursement. Several large employers such as General Electric and Westinghouse include hospice care among their workers' health benefits and unions are bargaining for more companies to do so. But for our purposes here, the interesting thing is that strangers can go into a household which is in a state of extreme stress and be accepted and be effective. The key to this success seems to lie in the following factors: a rigorous process of volunteer selection and self-selection, a training program of some 30 hours (in the case of the Buncombe County's Mountain Area Hospice) and the accessing of patient families to

volunteers through the medical delivery system. (Doctors refer patients to hospice who then are interviewed by the hospice staff with an eye to their interest in and suitability for hospice care. A nurse is assigned and initially a lay volunteer [or a two-person volunteer team] will accompany her. From then on the lay volunteers and the volunteer nurses work out their relationships with and services to the family and the patient through the process of on-going interaction.)

A number of us have been trying to adapt the hospice concept to a process of community building in rural areas. In both Yancey and Madison counties in North Carolina, groups are meeting to discuss ways of training and organizing local volunteers to work with families where someone is at home with a long-term illness of any sort (hospices generally focus on late stage cancer victims) or is in long term recuperation from an industrial accident or other injury. In each case, volunteers would be used in conjunction with existing public and private medical delivery systems.

Other services that can be utilized in building or rebuilding mutual aid networks in rural communities include providing food to the homebound, big brother/sister programs for kids, woodcutting for those people who cook and heat wood, but lack the ability to collect it or buy it; programs for the elderly in meal sites, nursing homes, and private homes, transportation services to congregate meal sites and medical care facilities, and assistance in garden preparation.

There are several hazards associated with developing new voluntary support networks:

1. Traditional support systems can be overlooked and thus weakened or replaced by new volunteers efforts. Families that truly need help are those somehow isolated from traditional, kin and community-based networks.
2. Families-in-need can develop dependency relationships with the family or group providing help. Something akin to child-parent relations can emerge.
3. On the other hand, development of new services can be intimidated by the rather common myth that nobody and no family is homebound and isolated "in *our* community," and thus no new efforts are needed. The myth is often heard in the form of "what do we need that for. We've always taken care of our own around here," but the facts indicate otherwise.
4. Once a program is established, there is a tendency to ease up both in the matching of appropriate volunteers with specific services and in orientation and training of volunteers. If a volunteer shows shock or dismay upon entering a home or a sickroom, those on the receiving end pick it up and respond accordingly. An individual contact will be lost and community gossip born of resentment or defensiveness can cripple an entire program.

In sum, and at the very least, careful research is required to determine precisely who needs what and how any new service can enhance, rather than challenge or weaken, existing networks. Research should also indicate who can serve in

various roles and how they should be trained.

One observation about volunteers which makes an interesting hypothesis for future research: The most motivated and sensitive people capable of person-oriented, one-on-one service are those with personal experience on the margins of a social system—those who by physical injury, class position, sexism, or agism in the form of forced retirement, and discrimination, have been jolted out of their everyday taken-for-granted worlds and personally known isolation and loss of social and self-esteem. The most effective volunteers seem to have experienced vulnerability in their own lives to a degree which permits them to be open, as opposed to being defensive and judgemental, when faced with the crisis of a neighbor.

In conclusion, there are many kinds of support systems needed at the community and county level and different kinds of people are needed to staff them. As we build these systems, we build interactional networks of people—what Warren would call horizontal networks of people—who can come to identify with one another as inhabitants of a common turf and, to some degree, a common destiny.⁵

The kind of support networks that we're trying to develop are a means of community-building. Mutual aid networks have the potential to develop into communities—groups of people with a sense of common purpose and destiny—which can define their interests and defend them, especially in a region where multinational corporations and government agencies have increasingly gained control of land, resources, and the power required for self-determination.

Footnotes

¹Stephenson, John B., *Shiloh: A Mountain Community*, Lexington, University of Kentucky Press, 1968, pp. 43-53.

²*Ibid.*, page 48.

³*Ibid.*, page 53.

⁴Weller, Jack, *Yesterday's People, Life in Contemporary Appalachia*, Lexington, Kentucky, University Press of Kentucky, 1965, pp. 49-57.

⁵Warren, Roland, *The Community in America*, Chicago, Rand McNally and Company, 1972, p. 162.

Bibliography

Stephenson, John B., *Shiloh: A Mountain Community*, Lexington, University of Kentucky Press, 1968.

Warren, Roland, *The Community in America*, Chicago, Rand McNally and Company, 1972.

Weller, Jack, *Yesterday's People, Life in Contemporary Appalachia*, Lexington, Kentucky, University Press of Kentucky, 1965.

Abstracts

This page intentionally left blank

Renewable Energy For Appalachia Development

C. James Bier Ph.D.

Appalachia is a region well-suited to the utilization of renewable energy, both directly and indirectly as the major source of energy to meet its population's needs in the 21st century.

Solar energy can be used for direct heating of new homes with low-cost passive solar building techniques using a balanced mix of increased internal thermal mass and improved exterior insulation. Large south window area in combination with movable insulation will allow homes built to these standards to be heated for less than 1/5 the cost of heating standard contemporary buildings and not require any formal cooling system in the Appalachian region.

There is abundant biomass in our woodlands to provide all the back-up heating needs for solar heated buildings. Wood and agricultural wastes can also be used as a feedstock for the production of liquid and gaseous fuels and chemicals through both pyrolysis and biological fermentation.

Hydroelectric power in the form of pumped storage reservoirs can be used to complement photovoltaic and wind generated electricity to meet variable load demands.

This paper will emphasize solar-derived energy production in the Appalachian region. About 1/2 of the presentation time will be devoted to immediate pay-back, low-cost solar applications for space, domestic, and industrial process water heating. The balance of the presentation time will be devoted to an assessment of the developing technologies for producing electricity and fluid fuels through photovoltaic, wind, small and low-head hydroelectricity and biomass conversion systems. The balanced and complementary integration of these diverse but renewable energy sources and their relationship to the development of the Appalachian region will be emphasized.

In summary, the Appalachian region is becoming more attractive to development as past negative perceptions about this region diminish. The greater realization that this region has abundant renewable energy resources in the form of its forests and moderate sunshine, an attractive year-round climate, dependable water supplies and substantial human resources will accelerate that development. Careful development of renewable energy sources will make the region a more prosperous and pleasant place to live. Personal and political action at the local, state, and national levels can result in the actions necessary to accelerate the adoption of renewable energy technologies.

Research sources include "Solar Age," "Solar Engineering," directories and research studies of solar homes, *Annual Reviews of Energy*, as well as the author's own experience in designing and building, and living in, a passive solar home.

The Need For A Descriptive Study Of Appalachian Children's Language Development

Dina Blum-West

A review of the current literature concerning Appalachian studies shows that while there has been a great deal of research on the Appalachian dialect, virtually no research has been published on the early language development of Appalachian children or how these children acquire grammatical parts of speech and use them in their everyday speech. This lack of information poses a grave problem for language assessment and educational planning in this region. Gathering information concerning the language development of Appalachian children is a complex and time consuming task. The importance of this information for educational planning in this region, how this information can be collected, and some of the factors that should be considered when doing this type of study are presented in this paper.

Floating Down The Stream Of Time: An Appalachian Rural Community Confronting Mass Society

Tom Boyd

This is a description of an Appalachian rural community having no formal organization and few fields of organized activity outside the family. A consideration of the horizontal level of integration finds interaction between units such as families, sets, churches, a community center, and a school. A consideration of the vertical level of integration illustrates interaction between the community and units such as the county, state organizations, social change agencies, and the United States Forest Service. The community can thus best be seen as an interaction field rather than a product of "Folk Society" or "Mass Society".

Appalachian Change: The Federal Involvement

Michael J. Bradshaw

Appalachia contains a range of problems in its three main internal regions—north, center and south. Each of these regions has seen major changes in its social and economic conditions in the last 20 years. The federal contribution to these changes is listed, and an analysis is made in terms of the relationships of a range of different programs to the needs of Appalachia. It is seen that, within the limitations imposed by the study of such complex factors, the most important long-term significance of federal inputs is in the provision of infrastructure, the involvement of local people in the planning process, and in a trend towards making the most of the human resources present in the region.

Appalachian Serpent-Handlers In The Urban Midwest: A Test Of A Satisfaction Hypothesis

Michael Carter and Kenneth Ambrose

This paper uses a case study approach in testing a church satisfaction hypothesis on a store-front, serpent-handling church located in the urban midwest. Participant-observation by both authors combines to a total of over eight years with this particular congregation and over ten years in observing the sect in the Appalachians. During a five month period in 1981 attitudes were measured concerning degrees of satisfaction with church and various non-church activities. This exploratory study reveals that these sectarian pentecostals ($N = 19$) derive more satisfaction from church (and church related types of) activities than from any other form of behavior measured. In the face of extreme danger (e.g., handling of poisonous serpents, fire, and the drinking of strychnine) and severe criticism from both family and friends, this small congregation is significantly more satisfied with church activities than from more traditional discretionary (leisure) time activities. This deep level of satisfaction gained from church and church related activities may be a key element in accounting for the sect's survival both in and out of Appalachia. Glossolalia and the trance-like behavior which often accompanies it was also found to be very satisfying and appear to be serving as a mechanism for self-fulfillment and possibly self-actualization.

Looking Back...Before Integration

Victoria A. Casey

This slide-talk show deals with the struggles and triumphs of the Black Appalachians in the small mountain communities in the remote area of Western North Carolina. With this as the background, the slides will depict the Black Appalachians as they survive in the white world as well as their own where they establish their own churches and schools.

The remote communities chosen are in Jackson County whose motto is "in the middle of most." The county includes Western Carolina University in Cullowhee and is located at the foothills of the Smoky Mountains, where the Eastern Band of Cherokees reside. Most Blacks in the county have been in this area for five to six generations, brought into the area as slaves as early as the late 1700's.

It is from this slavery background that the Blacks in Jackson County began to lead their own lives and direct their own destiny. This was done by establishing their own schools and churches. It is from these two institutions that the Blacks in the county are able to find a common denominator to pull together as one, although their numbers weren't strong and "communities" were very small.

The slide-talk show will deal with three aspects of the Blacks in Jackson County, which seems typical of all small Black communities in rural remote areas of Western North Carolina. It shows their life from 1865 to 1965 stressing jobs, church and school. In this framework it will show the migration within the county and will show the migration out of the county because of the needs for jobs.

Both of these dates are significant because 1865 ends the period of formal slavery, while 1965 ends the period of school segregation in the county.

The Homemade Toys Of Appalachia

Debbie Collins

Growing up was hard for past generations of Appalachian children. They had little time for play and toys. Like many items on the small, self-sufficient Appalachian farms, the few toys the children had were handmade. My paper deals with these homemade toys.

The first part of the paper discusses the past of Appalachian toys. The children had few toys because they had little time for them and because there was little if any extra money. The toys they did have were made by the children themselves or by their parents or grandparents. These toys were made from scraps of wood, cloth, etc. found around the farm. The practice of making the toys was passed down from generation to generation through oral transmission.

Another major part of my paper deals with the changes that have taken place through the generations of toymaking. Toymaking has come from being a way to pass time to a source of income, a hobby, and a specialized craft. The toys themselves have moved from playthings to collectors' items with prestige and large markets. The materials for the toys are often bought today where they were once found. The tradition of oral transmission has died in some areas, and toymaking is learned in classes and from books. In many cases toymaking has become a way to hold to the past.

I compare the toys of Appalachia with those of other cultures—Eskimo, Indian, Mexican. I have found that many of their homemade toys are similar to ours. I take a look at what is needed to consider a toy an Appalachian folk toy. I feel the location of origination is not important in the decision. The toymaking may have been brought into the mountains by immigrants or left by the Indians, but if it was accepted by the people and if they added their own ideas to the toys, it became part of their culture. The apple-head dolls and the cornshuck dolls are excellent examples. I also take a look at toymaking as art vs. craft and as folk vs. non-folk.

In presenting my paper I plan to discuss these major points. I have photographs of toymakers and toys from my interviews. These will be on display during my presentation. I have also been collecting several of the toys I discuss in my paper. I plan to display these also.

Sherwood Anderson's Appalachian Years: An Overview

William T. Cornett

Although most readers and scholars associate the name of Sherwood Anderson with the literature of the Midwest, this seminal writer spent the last fifteen years of his life as a resident of Appalachia and produced there several works highly reflective of his adopted region. The primary purpose of this paper is to present in some detail the contents of these "Appalachian" writings, chronicling something of his use of an overall philosophical stance which guided him as he wrote from 1925 through 1940. A secondary purpose is simply to promote familiarity with this lesser-known period of Anderson's life.

In general scholars and critics of American literature have dismissed Anderson's later years as inconsequential artistically, but this paper hopes to demonstrate that the subjects and stylistic qualities which are present in such fictional works as *Beyond Desire* (1932), *Death in the Woods* (1933), and *Kit Brandon* (1936)—and even in some of the essays of *Perhaps Women* (1931) and *No*

Swank (1934)—are frequently continuations of basic interests and approaches found in earlier works like *Marching Men* (1917) and *Winesburg, Ohio* (1919).

Even though very little of Anderson's later output is of the consistently high quality of *Winesburg*, it certainly does not deserve the considerable neglect which has come since the author's death in 1941.

Anderson found peace and happiness in Appalachia, though at a time when much was going wrong on both the local and national scenes. He reveled in being a citizen of a small town (Marion, Virginia), and wrote piercingly, both in fiction and journalistic essays, of the problems generated by events around him. Therefore, Anderson's life-long quest for "belonging" was realized in his southwest Virginia town, "halfway between the earth and the city."

Aesthetically, he remained an experimenter after his removal to the mountains. Certainly *Sherwood Anderson's Notebook* (1926), *A New Testament* (1927), and even *Home Town* (1940) are innovations in their own ways. Such writings show obvious deficiencies, but they do not show a man who was "written out".

Today with many proclaiming the death of our nation's cities and with growing psychological, economic, and population pressures, Anderson's earlier decision to become a small-town man in the Southern Appalachians may represent one possible alternative to urban decay that has only begun to be explored. Perhaps a reputedly burnt-out artist will now be seen in the new role of prophet.

Tales of Power: A Community Perspective Of The TVA

Richard Couto

Part of the original hopes that this nation had for the Tennessee Valley Authority was that it would contribute to the development of a river basin in the Appalachian region. But the hopes extended beyond developing dams on the Tennessee River, the nation's seventh largest. In addition, TVA had the agenda of resource development including the human as well as national resources of the region. Since 1933 TVA has evolved to a more narrow mission of providing electricity in a seven state area. The impact of this mission of low cost electricity in the Appalachian region has been most manifest in the strip mining of coal. This slide and tape presentation interviews Barbara Green, a resident of Campbell County in East Tennessee. This county adjoins Union County which was the site of TVA's first project the Norris Dam. Through her comments Barbara Green gives us an idea of the impact that TVA has had in recent years and the unfinished agenda of natural and human resource development that faces this nation.

Location Decisions Of Appalachian Youth: A Case Study In A Rural Appalachian Community

Barbara Daniel

Location decisions of Appalachian youths are explored from the standpoint of the "utility of staying" in the region as opposed to the "utility of moving" from the region. Elements of these two constructs are to be measured by survey questions administered to three cohorts of students from a rural Appalachian Ohio High School. This study presents the theoretical framework to be used and a summary of a preliminary survey conducted at the high schools in the region.

Conclusions from the preliminary survey are that most students stay in the region of origination, and impressions of guidance counselors about why they stay are presented. The final study will consist of interviews of a randomly selected sample of recent graduates. Results will be analyzed by discriminant analysis. It is hypothesized that the decision-making processes of movers and stayers can be discriminated, and that the bases on which they make their decisions differ.

Land For East Kentucky's Development: An Inventory Of Mountain Top Mining Sites

Douglas Dotterweich

The shortage of flat land above the flood plain in the coalfields of eastern Kentucky is well known to anyone who has driven through this area. This problem has been a serious constraint on any type of development including housing, industrial, commercial, retail and services outlets, and even agricultural uses. There has simply been no place to locate these land uses.

However, in the last few years, a new method of coal mining has come into rather widespread usage—mountain top removal. This technique literally removes the top of a mountain leaving often sizable quantities of flat land, out of the danger of flooding.

The purpose of this brief report will be to present the results of an inventory of mountain-top mined lands that appear to have development potential. A total of more than sixty sites within the region have been identified that encompass more than 38,000 acres. This inventory does not include all the mountain top land in eastern Kentucky, but only those parcels with the greatest development potential.

Factors considered in selecting these sights include: 1) access to roads, 2) access to population centers, 3) availability of water in the vicinity, 4) distance to rail facilities, and 5) number of feet of elevation above the valley floor.

The report will include: 1) a listing of sites, 2) site characteristics, and 3) a map showing actual location of the land sites. This presentation should be of interest to anyone concerned with the development of the Appalachian region in general, or with specific land use and development ideas for East Kentucky. Finally, an effort will be made to outline the method used in developing this site inventory for eastern Kentucky, so that similar site listings might be compiled for other Appalachian states that have shortages of developable land.

Planning For Appalachia's Future: The Forest Service And Public Input

L. Sue Greer

The U.S. Forest Service is the single largest land holder in the Appalachian region. Consequently, the Forest Service has a potentially significant impact on the direction of developments in the Appalachian region. The issue is not just what kinds of choices will be made for the management and development of the National Forests, but how those decisions will be made and who will have input into them.

This paper reviews the course of planning for the Mount Rogers National Recreation Area in the Jefferson National Forest in Virginia. The history of that development illustrates the problems associated with the rationalization of social structures. Greater centralization of planning and increased reliance on experts make decision-making more remote from the individual and more difficult to influence.

The conflict over development of the Mount Rogers National Recreation Area also illustrates the factors affecting the organization and success of local opposition. The rationalization of public input may provide a tool for the effecting change, but it also limits the issues which can be addressed.

The Nada Tunnel: Through Fact And Through The Imagination

Larry G. Meadows

The Daniel Boone National Forest covers over half a million acres of eastern Kentucky, constituting a major watershed and source of timber. A large portion of this forest lies in the Red River Gorge, a puzzle of ridges, cliffs, and stone arches. From the last half of the nineteenth century to the 1920s, this area attracted loggers and rivermen, railroaders and blasters, hunters, fishers and trappers, and farmers and sharecroppers who worked while the great trees of the Gorge were cut by industry. When the logging companies finished and the railroads closed down, however, many people had no choice but to leave. Little now remains of that earlier mountain culture, one that was rich with custom and oral traditions. Today, several hundred thousand people annually visit the area to camp and sight-see, most entering the Gorge through the Nada Railroad Tunnel (constructed in 1911 and now part of highway 77). Driving through the one-lane darkness of the tunnel to confront this wilderness, these visitors often want to forget their preoccupation with man. Yet, the area's human history matches its impressive counterpart in stone; and merely to enter the Gorge through the tunnel is to travel through a future blasted, shovelled and carved out by men some twenty years ago.

This multi-media presentation explores the history of the Nada Tunnel, and its cultural and economic effects on the surrounding area and people. Its construction is one example of the impact that the coming of the logging industry and the railroads had upon the Appalachian Mountains. The presentation consists of two parts: 1) The first is a historical account of the tunnel, prepared by Larry Meadows, which relies heavily on documentation from written sources. It includes material concerning the tunnel's construction, logging trains and work crews, and is highlighted by authentic photographs and slides. 2) The second part is a fictional approach to the same topic. Recently, Ellesa High has been completing a cycle of short stories set in the Red River Gorge. One titled "The Luck of Elmer White" centers around the building of the Nada Tunnel. This story combines elements pulled both from oral history and from the author's imagination.

Made In The Mountains: Folk Art And Traditional Handicraft: A 22-Minute Slide/Sound Program, Explores The History And Development Of The Crafts Movement In Western North Carolina

Laurel Horton

The Southern Mountain region is often considered a last bastion of traditional handicrafts and folk art. Earlier travelers and writers described what they saw as a distinct mountain culture producing handicrafted items long after technological society had rendered them quaint and archaic elsewhere. More recently, folklorists and other scholars have questioned the uniqueness and separate development of "mountain crafts" compared with those produced in other regions. To add to the confusion craft guilds and marketing agencies, which originally established themselves to promote native handicrafts, have also encouraged contemporary and *avant garde* styles and techniques. The result is a multiplicity of description, definition, and delineation of terms such as "folk art," "traditional handicrafts," "mountain craftspeople" and "heritage crafts." It is no wonder that not only the buyers and collectors of handmade items, but also the makers and marketers are often unsure about how to describe their work and its historical and regional sources.

The objective of this program is to provide information about the promote discussion of the following issues:

1. the role of handicrafts within traditional lifestyles.
2. crafts, craftspeople, and techniques in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries.
3. the crafts revival of the twentieth century.
4. the continuities between art and craft, folk and popular, utility and decoration, native Appalachian artisans and those not identified with the region.
5. the influence of guilds and marketing agencies upon craft production and techniques.

The Cherokee Religious Experience

Richard A. Humphrey

Native Americans have been in Southern Appalachia for at least the past 12,000 years. Little is known about the religion of these early Indians.

The coming of DeSoto's expedition into the region provided the first written reports on the Cherokee. Eighteenth century travelers' accounts of the Cherokee are informative, but James Mooney and his Cherokee friend, Swimmer, have provided excellent source materials on Cherokee history, beliefs and ceremonies.

Many people have written about the Cherokee religion. However many of these interpretations must be questioned and corrected. Charles Hudson and his wife, Joyce Rockwood in their writings demonstrate the complexity of the Cherokee religious system better than previous descriptions.

In 1738 the missionaries' activities began and a new attitude developed towards the Cherokee and their religion. Cherokee religion was seen as a barrier to Christianizing and Civilizing. The popular view is that the Cherokee were converted easily to Christianity because of the similarity between the two religions. Historical records do not support this popular belief. The conversion process to Christianity was difficult and slow and elicited suspicion and hostility.

After the removal of 16,000 Cherokee to Oklahoma in 1838, there were approximately 1,000 Cherokee left in the mountains of North Carolina, half of whom were Christians.

Today the Baptists number 2,353 while the Methodists number 211. There are Cherokee members in the Roman Catholic Church, the Church of Christ, Mormon, Wesleyan, Pentecostal-Holiness and Church of God. There are 25 churches on the Qualla Boundary, 3 Baptist Churches at Snowbird and 1 Baptist and 1 Methodist Church at Tomotla. Today, Cherokee Christians tend to be conservative Calvinists, theologically. Of the 8,000 Cherokee in the mountains of North Carolina about one-third are Christian and another third practice their traditional religion. There are fewer who attend Christian Churches or hold membership than the literature suggests.

Present day Cherokee are involved in similar cultural tensions as are other people in Southern Appalachia. They are caught between their traditional beliefs and those of mainstream America. Even the Christians among the Cherokee have not forgotten their heritage. The oral history, their crafts, language, pride as a people and certain ancient ceremonies are still affirmed. The emphasis on family, place, and their "harmony ethic" are similar to their white counterparts in Southern Appalachia. Lloyd Owle expresses this with beauty when he wrote:

"The mountains pull at me
The trees stroke my eyes
The Wind brushes by
pulling down the sky.

The flowers tug at me
The streams wash me down
Life drives at me
I fall and hug the ground."

Toward A Theory Of Appalachia In Advanced Capitalism

Stephen P. Legeay

This paper develops the notion of advanced capitalism to analyze certain social changes in American society during the 20th century. Among those dimensions considered are the concentration of capital, changes in class structure, ideological change, changes in the labor process, and the expansion of government intervention in the economy.

The role of Appalachia within advanced capitalism is discussed, and some consideration is given to how the above-named structural and ideological changes are exemplified in the Appalachian region.

Finally, the paper utilizes interviews with retired coal miners in southern West Virginia to illustrate certain aspects of capitalist development in the coalfields.

Ethnicization And Urban Appalachians

Martin N. Marger

Ethnicization, specifically the formation of ethnic groups, is analyzed, using migrant Appalachians in cities of the industrial Midwest as a case study. Ethnicity is described as a variable rather than a constant or uniform social phenomenon, providing for the conceptualization of ethnic groups in different forms and at different levels of distinctness. Urban Appalachians are viewed in the context of four theoretical approaches to ethnicization, each stressing either cultural adaptation, the establishment of subjective group boundaries, ecological circumstances, or political development. In explaining emergent Appalachian ethnicity, traditional models of ethnicization focusing on culture and identity are rejected in favor of those emphasizing ecological and political forces of the urban environment.

Pine Mountain Boarding High School: A Unique Educational Community, 1930-49

Walter Oldendorf

This presentation features the results of an investigation sponsored by The Mellon Foundation and Berea College into the origins and consequences of a unique educational community created at Pine Mountain Settlement School in Eastern Kentucky during the two decades from 1930 to 1949. The notion of a community based curriculum is not particularly unique in the literature, but it is usually contained within a romanticist ideological framework. What occurred at Pine Mountain Boarding High School, however, apparently lies more within the progressivist ideological framework that commenced with John Dewey, a rare phenomenon in American schools.

The crucial distinctions between the two notions of education in a community experience curriculum can be discussed in terms of the role of the school. For the romanticist, the school is essentially passive in the education of the child—the child chooses those experiences in the community which will best enhance growth. The progressivist, however, sees the school as consciously arranging the kinds of experience—and reflective thinking about these experiences—which will best stimulate the cognitive and affective development of children. The progressivist school takes a very conscious, active role in arranging interactive experiences in or out of school which stimulate growth; the romanticist school counts on innate patterns to guide the child to choose his/her own optimum growth conditions.

The Pine Mountain Boarding School curriculum seems unique in its application of progressivist principles to a community based curriculum. From the first year civics program in which students wrote, printed, and bound their own text based on life in their community, Pine Mountain students were given opportunities to be educated through school arranged life experiences in their own community. This kind of curriculum is unusual in the literatures of American education, and even rarer in actual practice.

Investigating the history of Pine Mountain Boarding High School was worthwhile for reasons beyond its apparent uniqueness in American education. From a scholarly point of view it is significant to attempt to trace the ideological roots of the curriculum. More importantly, the progressivist notion of a community based curriculum has been advocated as a more effective curriculum for the education of youth than traditional or romantic approaches. Locating and interviewing graduates of Pine Mountain Boarding School offered a unique opportunity to confirm claims about the effects of a progressivist community based curriculum. Finally, if the Boarding High School was effective in facilitating the growth of youth into effective members of our society, then it would be very worthwhile to attempt to apply the principles of community based education to contemporary schools.

A Critique Of Appalachian Sociolinguistics

Brenda Cottrell Pfaff

Is the concept of the language variety known as Appalachian English valid? After nearly a century of word-lists, dialect maps, and informant codes, mainstream linguists either take it for granted that the previously established descriptions of the language are accurate, or the question is ignored completely. In order to understand the significance of the progress that has been made in the area of Appalachian speech investigation, the inadequacies of the early linguistic studies, the dialect geographies, will be discussed. But rather than dismissing this forty-five year dialect atlas project as being outdated, possible alternative methods of analysis will be suggested which would incorporate new sociolinguistic data and techniques.

In the preceding decade two non-mainstream sociolinguists, Walter Wolfram and James Robert Reese, working independently of each other, began to study the speech of Appalachia. Their techniques differ mainly from those of the linguistic geographers in that their investigations are much more thorough, the elicitation techniques are more conversational, and the data are more detailed. Though their work is a step in the right direction, their results are not conclusive about *all* of Appalachia because each linguist, of necessity, dealt with a very small number of informants, in a restricted setting. These field studies, because the results dislodge some of the old notions about Appalachian English, do indicate a need for more similar types of investigations throughout the entire Appalachian region, in urban as well as rural settings, if a clear, objective understanding of the language is to be obtained.

An Ethnography of Speaking In An Appalachian Community

George B. Ray

This monograph presents a description and analysis of speech behavior in a rural community in Eastern Kentucky. Speech is viewed as one type of behavior which is culturally patterned. The research approach known as the ethnography of speaking is embraced as a means of discovering the way in which culture influences speech.

Three speech events are analyzed: talk on home porches, talk at stores, and testifying in a church. The analysis of these events is carried out through a descriptive framework based on nine speech event components. A second section of the paper offers the development and interpretation of two cultural themes in the community, seasonal variations in speech topics and settings, and egalitarianism.

“Oh, How I Want To Go Home:” The Myth Of Return And Ethnic Identification Among Appalachian Migrants To Urban Places.

Terrence Russell

My point of departure is Simmel's note on “The Stranger” (1950) which is concerned with “the stranger who stays” and the terms, characteristics and causes of his sojourn. The concept of the stranger directs attention to conditions of the stranger's life that remain unexplained (especially in the Appalachian case) after we have accounted for class-based phenomena and the insularity of his folk culture.

If assimilation in the urban place is not going to occur, and for any existing ethnic group it most pointedly has not, we are dealing with Simmel's “stranger who stays”. How can the stranger's sense of mobility, being out of place, be preserved when in fact he has been “in place” for years or generations? It is this aspect of ethnicity that has special relevance to the question of Appalachian ethnicity. I argue that there is such a thing as Appalachian ethnicity and that it is organized around a symbolics of place, central to which is a symbolic complex that may be termed “the myth of return.” The myth of return is not unique to Appalachian migrants, but it is uniquely useful in explaining ethnic identity among a people who have few distinguishing physical or cultural traits to form the basis of “ethnic occasions.”

Women In Appalachian Education: An Initial Inquiry

Ruth Scott

This inquiry into whether women have had an impact on Appalachian Education has focused on four women, each of whom broke the accepted pattern of their day in terms of the female role. Each presents an image of power, vitality and vision, leading to measurable changes in the localities they chose to make real their visions. None is found among the 102 men in the index of McVey's history of education in Kentucky.

My search was a small effort to balance that record. It sought to draw together some significant aspects of Katherine Pettitt, Cora Stewart, Alice Lloyd and Mary Spilman.

I was interested particularly in the dynamics of these leaders: what factors were common? Each was born, and spent her childhood in the late 1900s; each was entirely single, or single after a brief, unsatisfying marriage; each spent decades, and massive efforts toward socially constructive goals. Through our limited knowledge, can we find a unifying concept?

Katherine Pettitt, born in 1868, the earliest date of the four, was impelled by her curiosity to travel from her privileged home in Blue Grass Kentucky to the then remote Appalachians. She had read in the newspapers of 1885 of the French-Eversole Feud in Hazard, Kentucky, "and she was eager to see what sort of place it was where people seemed to spend most of their time trying to shoot one another from ambush." When she and her companions arrived, on horseback, their emotions and sympathy were rather more engaged by the poverty, malnutrition and illiteracy of the "independent, high-spirited folk whose poverty and location have isolated them from the advantages of education and religion." These "quare women" bridged the cultural gap, received the trust and affection of the people, and managed to bring off introduction of health, educational and industrial-type innovations.

Cora Stewart, born in 1875, began teaching when she was 20 and became superintendent of Rowan County schools at 26. Her second distinction was to become the first president of the Kentucky Education Association. The most remarkable achievement was initiation and carrying out of the Moonlight Schools for adult illiterates, almost wiping out in a few years Rowan County's thousands of illiterate adults. Her movement spread nationwide.

Alice Lloyd, born in 1876, came as a frail cripple to the trackless Caney Creek area of the Kentucky mountains. Her Boston doctor had predicted that if she stayed home she would be dead in six months. In the chilly log cabins of the Caney Creek "holler" she worked incessantly for 43 years toward education and leadership for the mountains, initiating over 100 elementary and high schools and Caney Creek College, now Alice Lloyd College.

Briefly, Mary Spilman of Pikeville College completes the foursome. Born in Illinois in 1888, she became for 39 years almost a one-woman faculty; she taught math, biology, German, Bible and physical education, coached the sports, and procured from the mountains an excellent collection of plants and insects.

These four unique personalities share some distinctive traits. Each conforms to Maslow's description of the self-actualized individual. Such persons are characterized by a focus of interest on problems rather than self, identification with the human race, spontaneity in behavior and readiness to endure privation in the interest of values and goals.

These four provided models for many young persons early in the 20th century. Their story should be widely told to hold up models of vitality and constructiveness for young people who will live in the 21st century.

New Ideas And New Cultural Experiments In Appalachia—A Historical Outline

Jewel L. Tabor

The isolation imposed by the Appalachian mountains has forced their residents to develop self-reliance and courage. The spirit of independence has led mountain people to fight for democracy to defend their ideas and to provide the setting for many new cultural experiments.

Appalachian people have fought for democratic ideas from the Colonial period. The first battle between the colonies and Great Britain occurred in 1771 when Royal Governor Tyron defeated a group of North Carolina "Regulators" who took up arms over excessive taxation and corrupt officials. Some of the regulators moved to the Watauga river valley in present day Tennessee and later evened the score at the Battle of King's Mountain.

After the Revolutionary War some settlers who lived in the Appalachians or west of the mountains felt abandoned by their eastern neighbors. One group attempted to take matters into their own hands and formed the state of Franklin. Though Franklin failed it proved that Appalachian people would not allow themselves to be ignored. The mountaineers again showed their independent spirit in 1863 when some counties in western Virginia seceded from that state to form West Virginia because they opposed Virginia's plan to leave the union.

Some democratic ideas from Appalachia have been of national or international significance. The federal income tax, reciprocal trade agreements and Good Neighbor policy were written by an Appalachian congressman.

Their sense of defending what they believe in has led Appalachian people to espouse many humanitarian causes. Elihu Embree of Jonesboro, Tennessee published the first anti-slavery newspaper in the nation. David Crockett protested the removal of the Cherokee Indians from their native lands. "Mother" Mary Harris Jones was instrumental in organizing the United Mine Workers and in influencing the Pennsylvania State Legislature to pass child labor laws.

Appalachia has been the setting for numerous cultural experiments. In 1880 Rugby was established as a settlement for second and third sons of British gentry to provide them with a new start in life. In 1925 Dayton, Tennessee became the setting for a famous trial over the controversial evolutionary theory. In 1933 the Tennessee Valley area was the setting for a revolutionary new effort to transform the entire region by harnessing a river. The electric power resulting from this and the isolation offered by the mountains were major factors in the selection of nearby Oak Ridge for the development of the first atomic bomb.

The World's Largest Pottery: Does Appalachia Hold Its Future?

Jack Welch

This twenty-minute slide-illustrated lecture will indicate the history and accomplishments of the world's largest china manufacturing company, the Homer Laughlin China Company. Growing from a small company in the Ohio Valley in 1872 to the world's largest producer of semi-vitreous pottery (with claims to have produced 30 % of all pottery dinnerware sold in this nation) this company has a brilliant but unheralded past. Some of its most popular lines of ware, such as the "Fiesta" pattern, are collected world wide and attract buyers who pay fifty times what the item originally sold for. The company developed an automatic jigger, which will be shown in the lecture, as well as other important processes such as colored glaze and the tunnel kiln, which will also be shown.

However, the company faces an uncertain future with foreign imports competing heavily for the former markets which Homer Laughlin claimed for its own. Also, problems in design and a tendency to look too much to others for leadership also enter. One especially interesting facet is the refusal to consider anything regional or Appalachian in its design.

This lecture deals centrally with the remarkable persons and challenges which faced this Appalachian industry. The early technical difficulties in manufacturing the ware were confronted by Homer Laughlin who was made rich by the company, the increased capacity for production as the industrial revolution escalated was made possible by the Aaron and Wells families who bought the company, the problem with sales to match the increasing output was overcome by a salesman named George Washington Clarke, and the efforts at artistic maturity were undertaken by Frederick H. Rhead; the decision to make a fine china, the problems with unionization, and the gradual decline as a result of the foreign competition and difficulties in the industry itself are other problems that are discussed.

The lecturer will have samples of pottery from the Homer Laughlin China Company as well as slides of the company, its founders, its present workers, and its current and past lines of ware.

The Blue Ridge Mountains: A Regional Ecology Of Natural Hazards

Gene Wilhelm, Jr.

This paper starts from the apparently modest goal of assessing all the natural hazards that afflict a place. It is concerned with natural hazards in the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia-North Carolina and with the long-term pattern of human response and adjustment. Specifically, the paper focuses on mountain folk kinship behavior and response to montane hazards, all of which are common, recurring, natural events. A 300 air-mile-long montane area between Waynesboro, Virginia, and Asheville, North Carolina, was researched over a nine-month period in 1980-1981. This region has consistently experienced riverine flooding due to severe rains, cloudbursts, and hurricanes; blizzards; freezing rain and glaze; wind storms; forest fires; droughts; massive earth movements; and severe native plant epidemics. Nevertheless, the mountain people have clung tenaciously to their kinship groups in gap, hollow, cove, meadow, and ridge settlements and, when necessary, rebuilt their homes. The environmental perceptions of natural hazards may be unique as a function of individual experiences, sensing, and learning capacities. But there are also processes and interactions of development that apply to the kinship group generally. In sum, in any kinship group there are two broad sorts of behavior that need to be performed: the instrumental or task-oriented behavior and the expressive or social-emotional behavior. When particular parameters of age, sex, knowledge, and experience with natural hazards are included, the individual who most often plays the instrumental role in kinship meetings and discussions was identified as the primary decision maker. Such an individual can be either male or female, but usually old and "wise."

Appalachia And The World's Fair

Michael J. McDonald and William Bruce Wheeler

The 1982 World's Fair, to be held in Knoxville, Tennessee from May through October, has selected for its central theme that of "Energy Turns the World," a theme clearly designed to exploit one of the principal concerns of our society. Without blushing, promoters of the Fair have called Knoxville the "Energy Capital of the World," and have promised an "energy efficient" fair, an "Energy Innovation Center," and "Energy Research Pavilion," and wondrous displays of advances in solar, wind and geothermal energy.

Counterpoised with the "high-tech" energy exhibits and the symbolic

Sunsphere, however, will be many displays of Appalachian culture, the most ambitious of which will be the Folklife Festival, billed as “the most comprehensive presentation of traditional Appalachian culture ever held” in which “literally hundreds will participate, under good and sensitive circumstances.”

The contrast between the announced theme (of energy) and the displays of Appalachian life is sure to strike a note of discord and ambivalence. In 1904 hundreds of thousands of Americans attended the St. Louis Exposition, most of whom gawked and gaped at native tribesmen and women from the recently-acquired Philippines and displayed a mixture of curiosity and horror at their courtship dances, their eating habits and their standard of living. To Americans, these natives were living proof of the superiority of American culture, of its economic system’s success, of the worthiness of its imperialistic venture.

It is unlikely that a similar phenomenon will occur in 1982. Indeed, the opposite is more likely. In the midst of the complex, technological future is a certain dread of that very future, an ambivalence about it, a nostalgia for the simpler, uncomplicated life symbolized by Appalachia. Recently this impulse has been a powerful one in American life, giving power to Reagan’s drive for the presidency, Jesse Helms, Jerry Falwell and the Moral Majority, the revival of the popular music of long ago and the recently revived “tea dances,” and the increasing yearning for the simpler, uncomplicated life. Therefore visitors to the 1982 World’s Fair will approach exhibits of Appalachian culture in a quite different way than people who stared wide-eyed at the Philippine natives in 1904.

Of course, the Appalachian culture on display at the World’s Fair is likely to be a contrived, sanitized, idealized Appalachia, in stark contrast to the “high-tech” energy exhibits. Such sanitized displays of Appalachia may offer false impressions and (worse) false hopes to Americans peering toward an uncertain future.

Methods, Means, And Materials For Teaching Appalachian Studies

Carolyn M. Hinson

Since Eliot Wigginton’s Foxfire experience, there has been little argument that Appalachia’s oral tradition can prove a great motivating factor for students in our schools.

By providing students with some very basic information about folklore, the teacher can rely on students’ research skills and native knowledge to fill out a unit of study on Appalachian folklore. Focusing the study of the folktale on ghost, witch, Appalachian hero, and tall tales provides students with an understanding of this genre as well as an understanding of the people who produced these tales. By listening to and discussing the folk music of Appalachian, students recognize the British roots of our music, but also recognize changes in this music produced

by life in Appalachia. Appalachian logic can be explored through activities related to superstitions of the area. Finally, a study of Appalachian language provides an awareness within students of various nonstandard grammatical forms that are a part of their everyday speech.

Given within this presentation will be suggestions for teaching these various parts of our oral tradition as well as suggestions for motivating students to actively participate in the collection and preservation of this tradition.

Unraveling Folklore—The Thread Of Appalachia

Joyce L. Graham

"Unraveling Folklore—The Thread of Appalachia" is designed to offer the participants a close-up look at the collecting process and findings of high school students. This project was done by ninth grade English students at Shawsville High School, Shawsville, Virginia. The students were provided the opportunity to participate in a field experience during the fall of 1981. Masses of information were gathered including: over fifty taped interviews, approximately two hundred written pages, unusual books, and handmade posters. A sampling of this diverse collection of folklore will be on display for the perusal of participants.

This presentation will begin with the distribution of information on the procedure followed throughout the collecting process. These handouts will include ideas regarding goal setting, topic selection, procedural suggestions for collecting folklore, an analysis form for post-collection study, and a sheet with a variety of reactions to field experiences and folklore collection.

After distribution of handouts, the purpose of this collecting effort and the results of the process will be discussed. The primary objective of this project was to research the means by which folklore is transmitted from generation to generation and the effect this information has on the receiver of the information. Topic selection will be discussed. Examples from a variety of topics researched will be presented to the participants.

The presentation will conclude with an overview of the results of the collecting process. Special attention will be given to attitudinal changes on the part of the students toward their culture.

The Impact Of Economic Development On Women: Women And The Welfare State In Southern Appalachia

Mary Anglin

Rather than speaking to the issue of labor force participation rates or changes in the economy, *per se*, in this paper I focus upon social programming as a part of the development process and examine its impact on women in Appalachia. It is my contention that such programs serve as the means for the State to reorganize social relations around the productive sphere and a sense of class identity, in place of their foundation in kin networks and community ties. In this way the State is able to create an infrastructure to expedite the process of development, as well as to create social needs that can only be answered through further economic and social change.

Because women serve as pivotal members of their families and kin networks, they are considered the “target population” for many of the programs. In my paper I consider the impact of the programs offered by two agencies, the Health Department and the Department of Social Services, on women’s lives in the two counties I am studying.

The Richmond, Kentucky Solar Energy Community Assessment

J. Allen Singleton

During February of 1979, Oak Ridge National Laboratories issued a RFP for a community in the Southeastern U.S. to participate in “The development of a solar future’s scenario for the community .” In Richmond there were a number of ongoing activities and individuals who were already interested in energy alternatives.

There were at least four perceptions of the project.

The Oak Ridge National Laboratories Research Plan of the Technology Assessment Program called for “working teams” to develop plausible solar future(s) for the community, then present the scenario(s) to the community for “an assessment of the perceived social, economic, institutional and life style impacts....” It was not clear that the university based participants had fully grasped the sense of what the dynamics of a Community Level Technology Assessment concept was.

A message which was never assimilated: “That is, the local economy actually may profit from the energy crisis, or at least from meeting successfully the challenges of that energy crisis in our own town.”

The final report of the project stands as one of those documents one wants to claim "credit" for authoring. One point stands clear, the task force activists could never perceptualize how to develop scenarios, especially ones specific to Richmond.

The Richmond experience did not produce the kind of results the stated purposes that TAP publications had indicated.

Beyond the fundamental confusion, there were several latent factors which affected the project. One is the fact that approximately 60 % of the households in the city are heated by natural gas. Second, is the apparent availability of wood as an alternative heating source. As a result of these, there was a willingness in the community to postpone any systematic search for energy alternatives.

There were several specific and continuing contributions: the solar fairs; the window covering workshops; the solar greenhouse workshop; the audio-visual presentations; SOLAR publications; the creation of an on-going organization, the Mountain Communities Energy Alternatives; and the creation of a permanent community library of reference materials.

It is also reasonable to assume that within the community of Richmond there is a higher degree of awareness of alternative energy sources.